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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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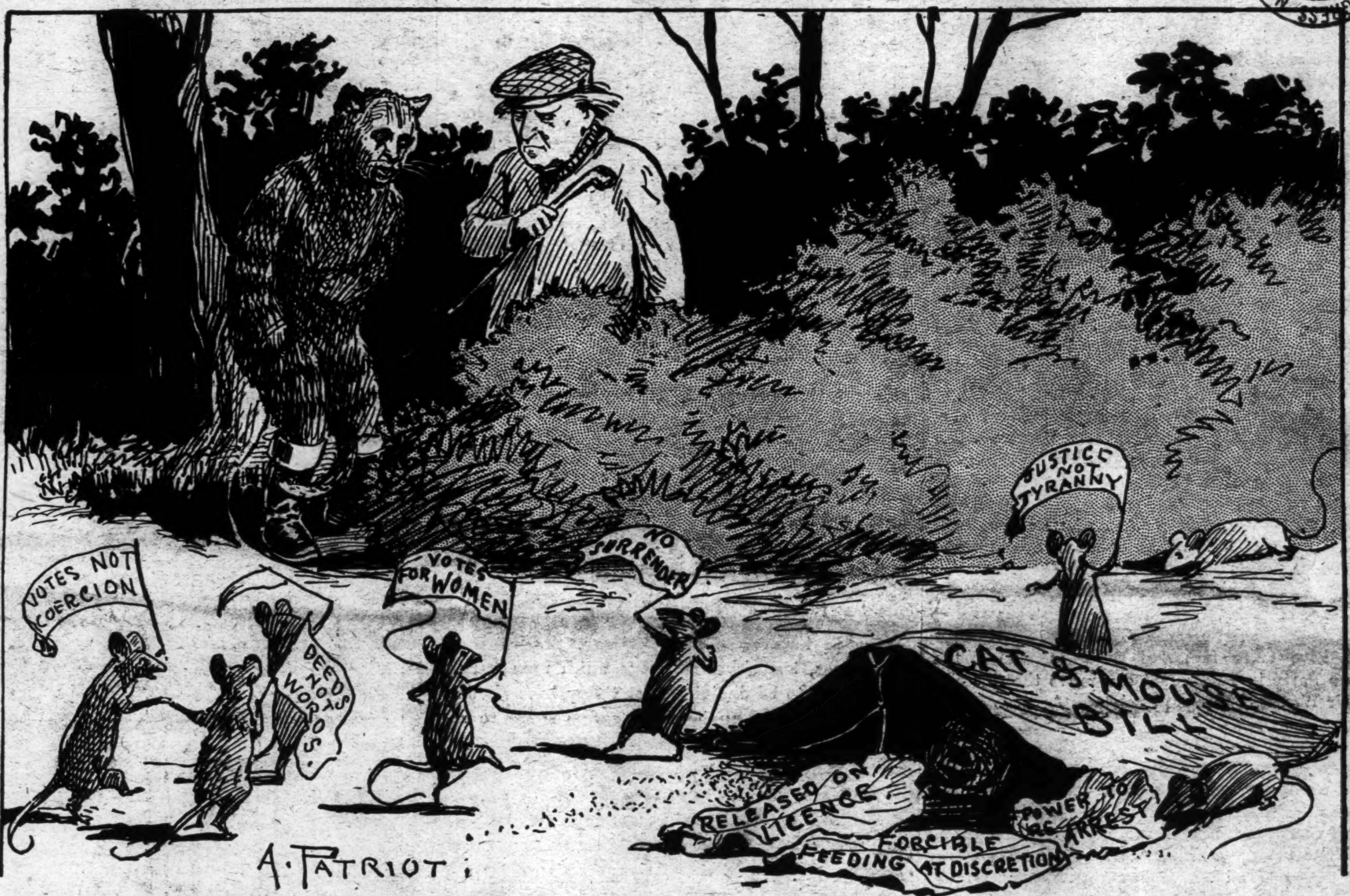
PUSS-IN-BOOTS (NEW VERSION)



PUSS-IN-BOOTS McKENNA (to his Master): "They don't seem afraid of my new mouse trap, do they?"
MARQUIS OF CARABBAS ASQUITH: "Mice are not what they used to be in the good old Constitutional days."

"The Suffragists themselves view the Bill with mingled scorn and amusement."—Evening Paper.

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The two events of outstanding importance this week have been the trial of Mrs. Pankhurst and the second reading debate of Mr. McKenna's Bill to deal with Suffragist Prisoners. By a curious coincidence they fell on the same day—last Wednesday; so while Mrs. Pankhurst, at the Old Bailey, was facing her judges as the responsible representative of women who have been forced by a sense of intolerable wrong to become law-breakers, the Government in the House of Commons were seeking fresh powers, not to redress the wrong, but to goad the women, by passing a shameful measure of coercion, to further outbreaks.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Trial

The public interest in the trial at the Old Bailey was manifested by the crowds that assembled early on Wednesday morning and cheered the defendant as she drove up, and by the massed audience within the Court who followed the proceedings all day with the closest attention. When the Court rose on Wednesday the case for the prosecution had been closed, and as at the time of going to press judgment had not been given, we reserve full comment until next week.

"If They Acted as Ordinary Citizens"

One interesting feature of Wednesday's proceedings was the close cross-examination of the witnesses by Mrs. Pankhurst, who conducted her own defence. In the course of it she elicited the significant information that the "political department" of Scotland Yard had been strengthened "in recent years." Another remark of the defendant's that must have struck many a stranger to the movement who afterwards read it in the newspapers, was her swift comment on Mr. Bodkin's reference to the militant "soldiers who have fallen by the wayside." "Many of them are dead," she said quietly. The reply of the prosecuting counsel—"They would be alive now if they acted as ordinary citizens"—will not, perhaps, appear callous—to ordinary citizens.

The Cat and Mouse Bill

The Home Secretary, in moving the second reading of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Bill, on Wednesday afternoon, made perfectly clear what the text of the measure (given by us last week) has left uncertain in many minds, and asked the House for power "to licence out prisoners *but at the same time keep the power to forcible-feed them.*" This robs his Bill of its only shred of a claim to the consideration of decent-minded and humane people. The sole defence that could have been put forward for its adoption was that it offered a means of abolishing the indefensible process of forcible feeding from our penal code. Since this is not the intention of the Government's Bill, it becomes a measure of pure coercion, characterised in its details by the very refinement of cruelty.

Points in the Debate

The division, which resulted in the usual victory for the Government, was a foregone conclusion in a House that has never learnt to do justice to women. But there were points in the debate that were not without significance. The Home Secretary's admission that forcible feeding was "a most objectionable practice" was received with cheers. Mr. Keir Hardie said admirably that the reason for militancy was the loss of faith on the part of women, and moved that the Bill should not be considered till the women's grievance had been given fair play by the Government. Lord Robert Cecil opposed the second reading, because the Bill was a Coercion Bill and its propositions were "startling as coming from a Liberal Government." Mr. D. M. Mason plainly said that the grant of the franchise was the only solution.

Public Repugnance to Forcible Feeding

The Press of the week has been full of condemnation of forcible feeding, and has loudly demanded its definite exclusion from the Government's Coercion Bill. The *Spectator*, while approving the Bill—does not this approval show our "Liberal" legislators where they are hurrying to?—calls the clause that permits forcible feeding "a too pedantic interpretation of the needs of prison discipline." The *Globe*, also praising the Bill, denounces forcible feeding as "mediæval barbarity." The *Daily Mail* declares it to be "a torture that must be stopped." In the place where Parliamentary language is used, it was fittingly described by Mr. Wedgwood, last Monday, as "beastly work." Yet, as we go to press, at least five women and one man, all in prison for their Liberal principles, are being tortured by it.

Why "Of Course"?

We understand that the Liberal Committee's Woman Suffrage Bill, of which we gave the text in our last issue, was to be introduced formally by Mr. Dickinson after we went to press this week. As the remainder of the month will probably be occupied with the Budget and the second reading of the Plural Voting Bill, says the *Manchester Guardian*,—

> The Government's promise to the Women's Suffrage Committee will probably not take effect till the end of April or the beginning of May. The Committee, of course, has no desire to hurry the Government in the least in the matter.

Why "of course"? We have never believed ourselves in the efficacy of any Private Member's Bill since the Government made Woman Suffrage a Government question in November, 1911; but a similar lack of enthusiasm, attributed to the Committee that exists solely for the promotion of such a Bill, savours at least of cynicism. If that Liberal Committee meant business it would never allow a measure to reform the male franchise to take precedence of a measure of justice to women.

The Plural Voting Bill

We have often indicated ways in which the Labour Party in Parliament can prove the sincerity of their Woman Suffrage principles. Another opportunity will be open to them when the Plural Voting Bill comes up for discussion. Are they as a Party going to oppose this measure in all its stages? They would have the backing both of the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party outside Parliament, who have passed resolutions by enormous majorities urging their Members to take this action with regard to all Franchise measures that do not include women. To allege, as some Liberal newspapers have done, that the Plural Voting Bill is not a Franchise measure is a quibble that should not for a moment satisfy the conscience of any honest politician.

The Teachers' Conference

For the third time an attempt was made to move a Suffrage resolution at the annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers which was being held at Weston-super-Mare when we last went to press. Although it was moved, this year, by Miss Cleghorn on behalf of the Executive, and was endorsed by thirty-four local associations, an amendment declaring the subject to be outside the scope of the objects of the N.U.T. was moved and carried, and thus became the substantive motion, but was not voted on owing to a clever strategy on the part of the Suffragists who at once moved the "previous question." The matter is therefore open for discussion another year, by which time we hope that the N.U.T. will have recognised that the political rights of its women members do come within the scope of a body that exists mainly for the protection of the interests of teachers in Parliament.

Items of Interest

The Fabian Women's Group have issued a manifesto calling upon the Labour Party in Parliament to regard the Plural Voting Bill as a Franchise measure that does not include women, and to oppose it uncompromisingly from the Labour Benches.

Miss Beatrice Harraden has just returned from a visit to the United States, where she created immense interest by lecturing on the militant movement in England as seen from the woman writer's point of view. We hope shortly to publish an article by Miss Harraden on her American experiences.

"TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THEIR SEX"

By Laurence Housman

"Taking advantage of their sex" is one of the favourite accusations levelled against Woman Suffragists by "Antis." "You militants," they say, "are doing this, that, and the other, on the strength, or rather on the weakness, of your sex. If men did such things they would be treated far more severely."

As a matter of fact, while they make this accusation, men are doing these or very similar things and getting off in the majority of cases much more lightly. Occasionally, but only occasionally, our legal authorities come down more heavily on a man who, for his own private ends, has committed an assault on a woman or done damage to property, than they do upon militant Suffragists; but for one case cited on that side three or four could be cited on the other; and, at any rate, the punishment of "militants" for "obstructing the police in their duty" has been far heavier than that meted out to men where violence was not involved. We have to-day, for instance, women undergoing sentences of a month's imprisonment for daring to petition the King! Their "obstruction of the police" consisted in merely advancing through the ranks of the police to the royal carriage, and then being caught and hauled back again. A month for that!

To cover up the atrocity of that sentence, the Press was loud in declaring that this attempt to make a personal petition was an insult to the King. It was no insult whatever; it was a traditional act of respect and recognition—the revival of a Constitutional usage which men held to be so valuable as to be worth fighting for in the days before they had the vote.

Men, having the advantage of their sex, let that custom fall into desuetude, allowed it to be overridden and made of no effect by police regulations and by other changes which mattered nothing to them as voters, but which matter much to women who have not the vote. In so modifying the law to the women's detriment, men "took advantage of their sex." Their own political privileges having grown in importance and efficiency, they allowed these poor, traditional remnants which remained to the women to be diminished, and they have allowed the women to be punished for endeavouring to re-assert them. They have done what the "Antis" accuse women of doing—they have taken advantage of their sex to hold women at a disadvantage.

But that is not the only case; the advantages of sex, as calculated on and used by men, are of everyday occurrence. Every time that men make laws affecting the lives and work of women, without troubling to consult the women in the matter, they take advantage of their sex, and of the privileges attaching to it. When the Contagious Diseases Act was passed by our male legislators, men took advantage of their sex to safeguard men of loose life from women, while refusing to safeguard women from men.

When men insist that, whether married or single, they shall receive higher pay for the same work than a woman gets—whether she have relatives depending on her or no—and when they impose the recognition of that claim by their voting power on Governments and local authorities, they are taking advantage of their sex. When they say that women shall not enter into certain trades, or into certain of the better-paid departments of those trades, enforcing their veto by threat of strike or of violence, they are taking advantage of their sex. There are many trades or employments more suited to women than to men, but from not a single one of these trades are men excluded. Industrial and professional exclusion is entirely one-sided; it applies only to women, and its inevitable effect is to limit the market for women's labour without in any way limiting the necessity which forces women to sell their labour. And so, as a calculated result, women's wages are depressed, and prostitution is increased to that amount which a certain class of male sociologists consider necessary for the "needs of man" and for the safeguarding of the morals of home. Prostitution, argues this school of philosophy, must be kept cheap, or more children and young girls will be violated or seduced even within that "sacred sphere of the home" which is the woman's special place. The women in the street must stand hostage for the women and the young children in the home; if they do not—men will "take advantage of their sex."

Even with cheap prostitution they do so; with the result that about thirty per cent. of the cases of criminal assault which come before our magistrates and are passed on to the rescue homes for young girls are cases of incest—of wrong done in the home by fathers and brothers. Cheap prostitution is *not* protecting the home; it is only cultivating in men's minds an attitude towards women, so licentious in its demands and so contemptuous of what it receives at so small a price, that the home to which those men return is less safe than ever. The cheap prostitute makes all womanhood cheap in the eyes of such men; womanhood to them means no more than the price of a pot of beer.

And in one connection especially do men "take advantage of their sex." When man and woman together make themselves responsible for the birth of illegitimate children, and when the man quits, as he so easily can, leaving the woman to pay—he is taking advantage of his sex. That is done in hundreds and thousands of cases every year, in this country alone. In a far greater number of cases, and with much more grievous physical and moral harm to the whole community, are men to-day taking advantage of their sex than are the women who are engaged in militancy. *That* sort of advantage has come to be regarded so much as a matter of human nature that in the estimation of Anti-Suffragists it "doesn't count." But the Suffrage movement is making it count, and is making women who are not yet Suffragists realise what hideous numbers when counted up it amounts to. And in making it count Suffragists are not instituting sex-war; they are merely exposing a sex-war immemorially old, carried on, I would fain believe, not by a majority but by a minority of men; but in any case a war in which the attacking party have been men—those who have, in the words of the Anti-Suffrage critics, "taken advantage of their sex."

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THE OLDER GENERATION

By Zoe Russell

"Well, Maggie, my dear, I hope you are growing saner than you used to be. Are you?"

"I don't think so, Aunt Helen. I expect you would think I am growing more insane, as you call it, every week."

"Oh! but you are not still a Suffragette, surely?"

"Why, of course; once a Suffragette, always a Suffragette—more so, if anything."

"Well!" And there was a world of disapproval in that one word, just to indicate the tone of the coming harangue. But it never came, for a peace-loving uncle interrupted with:

"I should not discuss that subject now, my dear."

And the conversation was hurriedly lured into less contentious channels, such as the bumptiousness of the local Squire and the ugliness of his children, the absurdity of the Insurance Act and the price of pigs. In the meantime, Maggie handed round the tea, and struggled to control her longing to contradict some of the ultra-Conservative assertions that were being made on every side.

For this was a family gathering where married daughters, and mothers-in-law, and uncles and cousins had met for a pleasant afternoon; and everyone was endeavouring to keep it pleasant by avoiding everyone else's favourite topic of conversation. For as soon as any individual personality was aroused, relations became decidedly strained.

As everybody showed great tact, however, the afternoon drew to a close without any mishaps. But the visiting party were hardly out of the gate before the pent-up feelings of the said Aunt Helen were poured forth.

"Why on earth does May allow that child to have such absurd views?" she began. "Why, she might be a Socialist by the way she talks; and her sister training to teach dancing, too—I have never heard of such a thing. She actually proposes giving private lessons to young men! I think it is perfectly disgraceful; we really ought to put a stop to it."

"They are not your children, my dear," murmured her husband through a thick white muffler.

"If they were, they certainly would not be Suffragettes or dancing mistresses.' I shall write to May and tell her what a mistake she is making. Those girls will never get married, and they will only disgrace the family sooner or later by getting imprisoned or into difficulties somehow or other."

"I think you had much better leave them alone," came the muffled answer again.

"Now, George, do keep your mouth covered up; you know you will catch your death of cold," said his wife, arranging his muffler well over his nose. "I cannot think why Basil does not get a closed car, instead of letting us all freeze in this one," she went on.

"We don't want a closed car," said her daughter, speaking for the first time.

"Ah!" said the old lady, getting thoroughly worked up. "That is just what is ruining this generation; they only think of what they want and what they don't want, instead of what is good for them. When I asked May why she ever allowed Maggie to join the Suffragettes, she simply said: 'The girl wanted to do so very much, and as I entirely agree with what they are asking for, of course I was pleased for her to join them.' When I was a girl, we were never allowed to want extraordinary things; we just had to take what we could get, and be thankful."

As neither of the others answered, Basil, who had caught the last remark, half turned and said:

"Maybe, if you had wanted a little more in your day, and not been so content with what was given you, the girls would not be wanting such a tremendous lot all at once now. You get precious little if you only take what is given you in this world."

"Well, really, Basil, you surprise me; you are nearly as bad as Maggie! She always gives me the impression that she thinks me an old fool. But you mark my words, they will never come to any good, those girls. Men don't like such independent women; and I don't blame them."

"You don't like independent men, anyhow," mumbled her husband beneath his wraps.

"Then why did I choose you?" she asked.

"Because you knew you would be able to wrap me up in a muffler and sit on me whenever you wanted to. Why, I can hardly smell the fresh air now," said he.

They all laughed; and for the second time that afternoon he had warned off one of his old lady's efforts at interference with other people's business.

In the meantime, the so-called "independent woman" was expressing her feelings somewhat differently.

"I must have a talk with you, Geoff," she wrote, "for I can't control myself any longer. Aunt Helen and Uncle Dennis and the Harrisons have just gone; you know whom I mean, don't you? Aunt Helen is not a bad old soul, really, only she nearly drives me crazy with her 'old hattie' ideas. She asked if I was saner, and was just about to hold forth on my evil ways when her husband stopped her. She seems to think I am still about two years old. She told me once I should die a discontented old maid! And she disapproves of everything I think or say or do. Most of my relations do; they think I am rather a disgrace to the family. I am longing to hear what they will say when I get arrested next month. I will send you their letters—they are sure to be amusing."

About a month later, Aunt Helen took up the *Morning Post* and glanced casually at the headings.

"Well, I never!" she exclaimed. "Those wicked women have been at it again; twenty-four arrests. Serve them right," she added, as if she were saying "Amen" to a prayer. Then she happened to look at the list of names.

"Good heavens, Dennis, come here quickly! Surely this must be Maggie? Look! There, now! What did I tell you?" she went on. "I always knew that child would bring nothing but trouble to the family. Oh, how could she do it? Fancy breaking a shop window; in London, too—how outrageous! But we cannot let her go to prison, Dennis—I can't possibly allow a niece of mine to go to prison. What can we do?"

"You might write and suggest that someone should give women the vote," said the old man, quietly.

"Dennis, are you mad?" exclaimed his wife. "What does it matter whether they get the vote or not? The point is that Maggie must not go to prison. She must be sent abroad, away from all these dreadful people. You must go and pay her fine secretly. I cannot think how May could have allowed such disgraceful behaviour."

"You had much better not interfere," said her husband again.

"It is my bounden duty to see that someone shows that girl what a terrible mistake she is making; I shall go and write to her at once."

And so Maggie had a long letter from Aunt Helen amongst many others, expostulating with her over her mistaken ways; and she answered most of them politely, reminding the senders that she was of age and in full possession of her faculties. She also gave the reasons for her strange behaviour, and asked if any of them could suggest any better means of attaining the same end, taking into consideration the kind of people that had to be dealt with.

To these questions, however, she received no answers; only Aunt Helen wrote to say that evidently she had gone too far to be saved, and that in consequence she must not be surprised if her relations dropped her in future, for they really could not own relationship with anyone who could behave like a common criminal, or, to say the least of it, like a lunatic. She had always said that Maggie's views were dangerous; had not all her prophecies come true?

She was extremely annoyed when she found that Maggie took no notice whatever of her displeasure. "I don't know what the world is coming to," she remarked to her husband; "girls were not allowed to treat their elders in this way when I was young. Maggie seems to forget that she will not only be an old maid, but a penniless old maid, if she treats all her relations in this way. I certainly shall have nothing more to do with her." And for about two months Aunt Helen never mentioned Maggie's name.

Then, one day, she came across it again in the *Morning Post*; but this time in a very different place, and the sight of it produced a very different effect. She could hardly take her eyes off the lines: "A marriage has been arranged and will shortly take place between Professor Geoffrey Henderson, eldest son of Sir Henry and Lady Henderson, and Miss Margaret Wells, second daughter of Major Wells." She let the paper fall, and called excitedly to her husband.

"Dennis, come quickly! I have such a piece of news for you—our dear niece is engaged to be married."

"Oh!" said Uncle Dennis, picking up the paper. "Which niece?"

"Why, Maggie, of course; and whom *do* you think she is going to marry?"

"Professor Henderson, apparently," said he, reading from the paper.

"Yes, just think of that! I knew she would make a name for herself some day. I wonder why the dear child did not write and tell me?"

Her husband looked at her in utter astonishment; then he said, regretfully: "I told you at the time not to interfere; now she won't have anything to do with either of us."

"What do you mean?" said the old lady indignantly. "I have always liked the child. She is so original, and won't stand any nonsense from anyone. It was only natural to try and prevent her going to prison; she quite understands that it was purely my affection for her that made me try to restrain her. And after all, she was only young and impulsive, and it seems quite the fashion to break windows now. I see quite respectable people have been doing it. I am delighted about her engagement, and shall write and ask her what she would like for a wedding present at once. I hope she will ask you to marry them, Dennis; nearly everyone in London will be at Professor Henderson's wedding. He is such a celebrity, isn't he? I only wish Maggie had written and told me herself."

"Considering you called her a criminal and a lunatic, I am not surprised she did not," said the old man. "I think it would be more dignified to take no notice, my dear."

"As if I could possibly let my own niece marry Professor Henderson without sending them my blessing!" exclaimed Aunt Helen, entirely oblivious of the irony of her remark. "I must write to May, too."

"What are you going to say to her now?"

"I shall congratulate her, of course. This is a splendid match; you don't seem to realise it. Why, he must have thousands and thousands a year! And I expect Maggie will settle down and give up breaking windows; but even if she does not—so long as her husband allows it, it is no one else's business."

The old clergyman smiled. "I see," he said. "So it was not the actual breaking of windows that you disapproved of, it was the fact that Maggie was unmarried when she broke them."

"How absurd you are, Dennis; you must see that a married woman can do things that a girl cannot do."

"Certainly, many things," agreed her husband; "but when it comes to breaking windows and such like things that may entail a term of imprisonment, I should have thought it would be better to be unmarried than married, if there was any choice."

"Of course, a man would think that," snapped Aunt Helen, "because they always think of themselves. I was thinking purely of Maggie's future when I tried dissuade her from using violent methods, and I shall write and tell her so." And she trotted off.

"I only hope she will believe you," said Uncle Dennis to himself; "but I am afraid she is not such a fool."

And so Aunt Helen penned another epistle to Maggie, this time full of good wishes and congratulations and blessings of all sorts. And Maggie smiled when she received it, and sent it on to Geoff as she had sent the previous one.

"I was expecting this," she wrote. "I sometimes wish you were just an ordinary person, Geoff, as I thought you were when we first met in Switzerland, because—well, you never know where you are with people when you have position and money as assets, do you? I was quite certain all these people who had dropped me would claim me as their favourite niece as soon as they knew I was going to marry you. They now call me 'charmingly eccentric' instead of 'criminal and lunatic'; and my 'headstrong ways' and 'dangerous views' have been exchanged for 'strength of character' and 'splendid originality.' It is all rather sickening, isn't it? Shall we drop them when we are married—it would be rather fun, wouldn't it?"

To which letter Geoff immediately replied: "I am delighted to think I am so popular with your relations, dear girl. They certainly seem a little changeable, but I should not drop the old people if I were you; you see, they were brought up never to be conspicuous in any way, even by being a little cleaner than the majority of their fellow human beings, so they naturally get easily shocked in these days; they can't help it, and they are very human. I only hope we shall have the sense to treat our nephews and nieces, and the next generation generally, with a little more imaginative understanding, when the time comes."

So Uncle Dennis was asked to marry them.

MRS. PANKHURST AT THE OLD BAILEY

Wednesday, April 2, 1913

AN IMPRESSION

By Joseph Clayton

As early as half-past nine they—the valiant women—were there in Newgate Street waiting—the lucky ones with tickets—for the doors to open, others, ticketless, to cheer their leader—for Mrs. Pankhurst is once more to be tried at the Old Bailey.

At ten the doors were opened, and we pass through the marble halls—such as the singer dreamed of—and climb handsome staircases to arrive, after much scrutiny of credentials, in Court No. 1. Here all is equipped and furnished in good, solid Tottenham Court Road fashion—are we not in London's Central Criminal Court?—and every reasonable precaution has been taken to exclude fresh air. At the back of the chairman's seat, against the wall, a large sword is suspended—"that's the sword of Justice," a constable tells me, and smiles as he says it, as though the notion was humorous—and at his desk in front is a substantial inkstand of the Tall Agrippa pattern. Whether the pen thereon was mightier than the sword at the back, the constable couldn't say, not wishing to commit himself.

"A Man-made World of Old Baileys"

As the hour of eleven, when the court is formally opened, gets near, it is seen that the place is run and managed by man, and for men. (The stuffiness and lack of ventilation made me suspect as much.) Men are everywhere, and so many of them are hopelessly bald. Twelve monest and respectable jurymen; substantial police constables in uniform; plain-clothes officers disguised as detectives; persons bewigged and begowned; and the whole lot engaged in administering laws made by men, and in trying to compel obedience from women to these man-made laws. To-day women are not shut out from the Court as they have been on another occasion, but are conspicuous in the gallery and crowd the public seats. Miss Beatrice Harraden, with other notables, is in the Lord Mayor's family pew, Miss Billinghurst and Mrs. Brackenbury are amongst the visitors. The place seems to have been constructed so that for hearing and seeing everybody shall fare as badly as possible. (Oh, this man-made world of Old Baileys!)

Enter the Judge

Mrs. Pankhurst is in Court now, and with her are Miss Georgina Brackenbury and Miss Annie Kenney. Mr. Marshall, the faithful solicitor to the W.S.P.U., is at hand. At ten minutes past eleven there is a knocking at doors, and Mr. Justice Lush, properly arrayed in scarlet, enters, and we rise in reverence to the majesty of male authority. Stout aldermen, also in scarlet, and decked out in warm furs (as though the Court was not sufficiently stuffy without this wrapping up!), likewise enter and take chairs on the judge's platform.

The indictment is read, the jury are well and truly sworn, and Mr. A. H. Bodkin and Mr. Humphreys are ready to open fire on behalf of the Crown at the prisoner in the dock.

For nearly two mortal hours does Mr. Bodkin prose away, endeavouring at times to work up some sort of excitement in the good old Sergeant Buzfuz style by reading extracts from Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches. Almost tearful is the learned counsel over orchid houses, but we quickly get at the line he is taking in the quest of a conviction—that workmen *might* have been killed if the explosion at Walton Heath had taken place at a later hour, and that Mr. Lloyd George had been singled out for special hurt. But both Mrs. Pankhurst and the judge are awake to the suggestion that homicide was easily possible, and will not have it, and Mr. Bodkin does little good with that argument. The question of the time that was bound to elapse before a candle burnt out seems to leave it clear—after much discussion—that no workman's life was in danger at Walton Heath. Still Mr. Bodkin plods his weary way, while the Aldermen loll (if the phrase which Mrs. Wilfur objected to be permitted) on their chairs, and the jury try to look as if they were taking an intelligent interest in the case.

At 1.30 a forty minutes' interval for lunch is, on the proposition of Mr. Justice Lush, carried unanimously.

Prisoner, Prosecutor, and Judge

The dullness is lifted in the afternoon, for witnesses are called, and Mrs. Pankhurst is questioning plain-clothes officers on their training and their methods. Somehow it seemed then that the position had changed, and that the prisoner in the dock had become prosecutor and judge, for as the speeches of this indomitable and altogether wonderful person—called in the indictment Emmeline Pankhurst—were read out, now by Mr. Bodkin, and now in correction by the prisoner, and as the cross-examination of Scotland Yard's officers proceeded, Mr. Justice Lush gently and wisely helping to smooth out difficulties, one fact stood out: that there in the Court, and in the dock of that Court, overshadowing judge, jury, lawyers, policemen, reporters, and spectators, was a very great personality—a woman of rare qualities of courage and devotion, of ripe experience, and obvious powers, a woman whose services a wise nation would gladly hasten to employ, and whom the folly and baseness, weakness and ignorance of members of Parliament have turned into a rebel.

The Court rose at 4.30, and the result of the trial is yet to be known. But whatever the issue may be, the rebel hearts are undaunted.

IN COURT

Wednesday's Proceedings

The trial of Mrs. Pankhurst opened before Mr. Justice Lush at the Old Bailey last Wednesday morning at eleven o'clock. A large crowd of women were waiting at the great gate of the Central Criminal Court considerably before ten o'clock, and as soon as the doors were opened every seat was filled in the Court, both behind the dock and in the rear of the counsels' benches. Mrs. Pankhurst arrived in a motor-car at 10.30, and entered the door of the Court amid a storm of cheers.

THE CHARGE

Mr. A. H. Bodkin and Mr. Travers Humphreys prosecuted for the Director of Public Prosecutions.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who conducted her own defence, was assisted by her solicitor, Mr. Marshall. She entered the dock carrying a black bag and a brown dispatch box. The indictment against her read:

> **"For that you on the 10th day of January this year, and on other days, between that day and the 19th of February of this year, feloniously did counsel, procure, move, incite, and command certain persons unknown to commit felony, that is to say, to place in a certain building in the parish of Walton a certain quantity of gunpowder with intent to destroy the said building."**

The indictment in the second count was described as **"with intent to damage the said building,"** and there were other counts varying the indictment.

The defendant pleaded "Not guilty" in a clear voice, and in reply to the Clerk said she defended herself.

SPEECH FOR THE PROSECUTION

Mr. Bodkin, at the outset, briefly described the explosions in the house at Walton, Surrey, on February 19, which he said was undoubtedly an offence against the Malicious Damages Act of 1861. The deed was committed in the dead of night, and the persons who were concerned in it had consequently not been arrested. Mrs. Pankhurst was charged with being an accessory before the fact, and it was not suggested that she was present at the outrage. Counsel submitted that the evidence pointed most clearly to the fact that the women—probably two in number—who committed this crime were members of the Women's Social and Political Union, and the evidence brought against the accused would be of the most satisfactory kind. It would consist of her own admissions of having incited and procured the commission of the crime. Speeches were delivered by her at large meetings in London and elsewhere.

The Speeches

"Speeches," said counsel, "which are all of them a direct incitement to crime, and which contained for the purpose of giving force to that indictment admissions by the speaker of the prominent position in which she stood towards the various outrages which she commented on and announced to her audience." Mr. Bodkin went on to say that the house which was wrecked by the explosion was owned by Sir George Riddell, who was building it—and this was believed by the defendant—for the purpose of its being occupied as a country house by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That it was intended as an act against Mr. Lloyd George was clear from the malicious statements which the prisoner had made about him in the course of her speeches.

A Letter Read

Mr. Bodkin then introduced a letter which was not read at the police court, and which was found during the raid upon the "suffragist arsenal" in a West End studio. This letter contained the following passages:—

"We must prepare beforehand to deal with the situation. There are degrees of militancy. Some women are able to go further than others in militant action, and each woman is the judge of her own duty. To be militant in some way or other is further a moral obligation. It is a duty which every woman will owe to her own conscience and to all those who come after her. . . . Will you tell me by letter—if it is not possible to do so by word of mouth—that you are ready to take your share in manifesting in a practical manner your indignation at the betrayal of our cause."

"A letter of that kind," said counsel, "shows very clearly that she is the leader, and the influence she has over the emotional members of this organisation. It shows that, according to her, militancy can be withheld for a time and let loose upon society at another time, and that any person who wants to indulge in militancy (which is only a picturesque expression for committing crimes against society) has got to communicate with her and with her alone, by word of mouth or by letter."

"I Do Not Accept the Police Reports"

Mr. Bodkin then read lengthy extracts from reports of speeches delivered by the defendant, which drew a protest from Mrs. Pankhurst, who said: "I want to lodge an objection now to the police report of my speeches which have been supplied to me. The only report I accept is that of a journalist from Cardiff, who is one of the witnesses, who has furnished a fairly accurate report of what I said in that town. The police reports I do not accept. They are grossly inaccurate, very ignorant, and ungrammatical, and convey an absolutely incorrect impression of what I said in many respects."

The Judge said he could not possibly exclude the reports, but defendant would have an opportunity of correcting them afterwards.

Respect for Human Life

In one of her speeches she remarked that the militant suffragists would respect human life. "Perhaps," proceeded Mr. Bodkin, "that is a small glimmer of satisfaction for one to know; but if that candle had burned another half-hour, that would have been an empty expression indeed." Referring to Mrs. Pankhurst's speech at the London Pavilion on February 2, counsel quoted her statement: "So long as I am at liberty, I shall be plotting and planning and arranging with my colleagues every item in this campaign which we have undertaken." "What," asked counsel, "did she mean? She is the leader; she writes, before the fate of the Bill is known, that letter of January 10. She makes the observations in her speeches which I have read. She congratulates the assembly on the excellent pieces of guerilla warfare. What is putting stuff on golf links? What is breaking windows? What is destroying business letters? Why should she talk of her liberty, unless it be true that she had been plotting and planning, and knew, as she knows perfectly well, that that amounts to a conspiracy and crime against the law, and so long as she is at liberty she will continue to do this?" Mr. Bodkin quoted Mrs. Pankhurst further as to "soldiers who have fallen by the wayside."

"Some of Them Are Dead"

"The wayside," he said, "is at Holloway, and, as she says in a self-congratulatory passage later, 'the number of soldiers who have fallen are nothing as compared with the amount of damage they have done.'"

Mrs. Pankhurst: Some of them are dead.

Mr. Bodkin: That may be; they would be alive now if they had acted as ordinary citizens have to act in a community like ours.

Counsel went on to speak of the outrage at Kew Gardens, and referred sarcastically to "earning the V.C. of the W.S.P.U. by dragging orchids up by their roots."

"Whatever this lady is," he added, "she is a lady who can hold her audience, and is a most effective and dramatic speaker." Her speech on that occasion was summed up in a sentence: "We shall go on, and all the ingenuity that Providence has endowed us with will be used to hold up the country until the affairs of women are attended to." "That," was Mr. Bodkin's comment, "is the scheme that this Union has set out to bring about."

"Unless She is Speaking the Truth"

Extracts from Mrs. Pankhurst's Cardiff speech were next quoted by Mr. Bodkin, in which defendant took full responsibility for the Walton outrages and all the outrages which had preceded it. If her assertions were not true, "then these speeches," said counsel, "are the most discreditable effusions that ever a so-called leader uttered, simply to bamboozle these emotional followers of hers. Unless she is speaking the truth, they are most discreditable. Which position will Mrs. Pankhurst take up? That is the question for you." Concluding a speech which had lasted an hour and a half, Mr. Bodkin said: "We have to play our part in putting an end to a condition of things which is perfectly and absolutely intolerable."

EVIDENCE FOR THE PROSECUTION

Evidence was then called for the prosecution.

James Grey, foreman in charge of the work at Walton, said it would cost £400 to £450 to repair the damage done by the explosion. At counsel's request witness roughly "reconstructed" the unexploded bomb which he found in a cupboard of the house on the morning of the explosion. The tin which had contained gunpowder and a pan full of shavings he connected with a black rag, and erected a stump of candle in the middle of the shavings. He told the defendant that the candle had burned to within an inch of the shavings.

"An Erroneous Calculation"

Inspector Tugday, of the Surrey Constabulary, asked by Mrs. Pankhurst how long he thought the candle would have taken to burn to the shavings, put the period at about an hour, and the judge remarked that this sounded rather an erroneous calculation. His lordship suggested that the candle could be brought during the adjournment and they would thus be able to calculate how long it would take to burn.

Mrs. Pankhurst: What I want to prove is the unwarranted nature of the suggestion in the opening address with regard to the burning of that candle. She further questioned witness regarding a golosh found near the house, and contended that it was made for a man. The Inspector said this was not the case in his opinion; and the judge offered to send for the schoolgirl who found the golosh. Mrs. Pankhurst replied: "Although by English law the girl is marriageable and old enough to take the responsibility of a family, I don't want a girl of 12 to come into this court."

After the luncheon adjournment, Mr. Bodkin said he did not propose to carry the investigation about the golosh any further, and the Judge told the jury to disregard it altogether. It threw no light on the matter.

Brilliant Cross-Examination by the Defendant

Chief-Inspector J. McBrien, of New Scotland Yard, cross-examined by the defendant, said he belonged to the Special Branch at Scotland Yard, which was the political department.

How long has the Department been in existence?—About thirty years.

Am I right in suggesting that it has been very largely developed in recent years?—It has become stronger.

It has not been brought up-to-date and put in accordance with the Russian methods of police inspection of politicians?—No.

Perhaps I am not wrong in saying that you yourself have studied the special work of your department on the Continent?—I have been on the Continent.—Answering further questions, he said he did not know that the letter found at the "Arsenal" was published in the papers and commented upon in leading articles some time before the witness found it.

Major Cooper-Kelly (Chief Inspector of Explosives at the Home Office) then gave evidence, and said he had experimented with the candle referred to by an earlier witness. He found that it burnt half an inch in half an hour. In his opinion the explosion of the second bomb would have occurred had not the oil which was sprinkled on the shavings caused them to shrink away from the candle.

An Unpleasant Impression Removed

Mrs. Pankhurst: Would you be prepared to go as far as counsel for the prosecution, and suggest that the people who put the things there deliberately intended that they should explode when the workmen came into the house?

Both the Judge and Mr. Bodkin denied that this suggestion had been made; and Mrs. Pankhurst exclaimed: "I am glad an unpleasant impression has been removed."

Mrs. Pankhurst then asked that the text of her speeches as reported by the police should be read, and much time was occupied in this way by Mr. Travers Humphreys. When Mrs. Pankhurst was asked if she wished to question the witness with regard to a report of one of her speeches, she replied: "I think it is obvious that although this gentleman is a well-intentioned reporter, he is not an expert."

"Very Mediocre, My Lord."

Mrs. Pankhurst cross-examined a Scotland Yard reporter as to the accuracy of his notes, and remarked: "One outcome of this cross-examination is to show that the witness is a very incapable person in dealing with this sort of work."

The Judge: Does Mrs. Pankhurst speak fast or slow?

Very mediocre, my lord. (Loud laughter.)

The Judge: When does a speaker become difficult to report? What horse power? (Laughter.) How many words per minute?

The witness: She becomes rather difficult when she is heckled.

You say she is not a particularly difficult speaker?—Oh, no.

Several of Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches remained to be read when the Judge intimated that he should adjourn.

Mr. Bodkin said the little girl who found the golosh had arrived, and he should like to call her.

The child, Cissie Savage, 12 years old, then entered the witness-box, and replied to the counsel's questions in a loud, clear voice. She said she had been to see the wrecked house and found the golosh near it.

The Judge Intervenes

The Judge (to Mr. Bodkin): I am not quite sure how you present this case. There are two ways of regarding it. Do you only ask the jury to say that the defendant specifically counselled the perpetration of this outrage, this crime, or do you also say that, looking at her speeches that you have read (assuming you prove that they were uttered) that the language used, being a general incitement to damage property—that anybody who acted on that invitation and perpetrated this particular outrage would be incited by her to do it? I want the defendant to understand; I think it is fair that she should know how you put the case.

Mr. Bodkin: I say that the speeches generally are incitements to all kinds of acts of violence against property, and that they present evidence of attacks against property believed to be the property of a particular individual, and that there is evidence in the speeches which have been and will be proved of admissions by Mrs. Pankhurst of having been connected with the particular outrage in a way which makes her in law an accessory before the fact.

The Judge: But you don't confine the case to the latter way of putting it?

A Point Cleared Up

Mr. Bodkin: No, my lord.

The Judge: If the jury are not satisfied that she was directly connected with the particular outrage by counselling it, you still ask the jury to say that by counselling, as you say she did, in the speeches, the destruction of property—especially belonging to a particular gentleman—that anybody who acted on that and committed this outrage would have been incited by her speeches.

Mr. Bodkin: Yes, my lord.

The Judge (to the prisoner): Do you understand?

Mrs. Pankhurst: Quite perfectly, my lord.

Defendant was then released on bail, subject to her entering into the undertaking she had previously given, and the proceedings were adjourned until the following day.

NOT TRIED BY HER PEERS

In a long and interesting letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Laurence Housman points out that neither Mrs. Pankhurst nor any other woman Suffragist is tried by her "peers" as long as the jury consists of men who are women's "rulers." He goes on to say:—

"Whenever in this country there is political agitation for reform unjustly delayed, the constant tendency has been for prisoners, even when obviously guilty, to be acquitted by a jury of their peers. It has been one of the recognised ways of bringing pressure to bear upon Government. We have seen it in our own day in Ireland, a portent extending over years; we have seen it very recently in Ulster, where the Government, fearing their verdict of acquittal, withdrew a case from a full bench of Belfast magistrates—men who might surely be regarded as a jury of a very picked and special kind. In those cases trial by jury has provided a special safeguard and defence which our male political agitators would be very reluctant to let go. That safeguard is not provided for the women whose attack is upon our present political system. Every one of them will be tried, not by her peers, but by those who are politically her lords and masters; and on a question involving their right of mastery their impartial judgment is to be given. Jury trial in such a case is, if anything, a further loading of the dice. We may possibly, now and again, get an exceptional and enlightened jury who, not having the courage to acquit, will add a rider concerning 'purity of motive'; but we are, on the whole, far more likely to get jurymen who, whatever the sentence may be, will in their hearts be crying out for 'More!'"

THE LIBERAL COMMITTEE'S BILL

MR. HENDERSON, M.P., AND THE PROPOSED BILL

Mr. Henderson, M.P., speaking at Barnard Castle last Friday, announced that he, on behalf of the Labour Party, had put his name on the back of the Dickinson Suffrage Bill. He also said with regard to the enfranchisement of women that the Labour Party would deal with that as with any other question affecting the interests of labour. In respect to his own position in the matter he declared that there would be no attempt on his part to evade responsibility or to make the slightest departure from any pledge he had given.

THE MINERS' CAUTION

It will be remembered that at the Conference of the Labour Party held last January, the miners' delegates refrained from voting on Mr. Snowden's resolution pledging the party in Parliament to oppose all Franchise measures that did not include women. At the end of last week the Miners' Federation of Great Britain held a special Conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and the following resolution was unanimously agreed to:—

"That this Conference does not discuss the women's suffrage question to-day, but should any franchise reform be introduced during the present session of Parliament, a special conference to consider the matter be called by the president and the secretary."

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY

A Press Criticism

The Conference of the so-called Independent Labour Party at Manchester has disclosed at least one fact about that party, namely, that it is not independent. The militant Suffragists had discovered this for themselves, and symbolised its servitude in their trenchant way by padlocking the door of the hall. . . . One spark of independence did flicker up at the Conference. It resolved that its members in Parliament should not vote for the Plural Voting Bill unless votes for women should be given. . . . It seems to us that the Labour Party is proving its utter bankruptcy either of political morals or political ideas. So far is it from being the tail that wags the dog, as it once boasted itself to be, it is a mere unconsidered and despised appendage. The Liberal dog, in fact, keeps its Labour tail between its legs.—**Morning Post.**

A LOBBY CORRESPONDENT'S VIEW

The names of the backers of the Bill will be scrutinised with much interest. There is reason to believe that there was some difficulty in securing the names of Unionist Suffragist members. Those members of the Opposition who favour the extension of the vote to women are for the most part indisposed to put their personal views above party feeling. So it may be found that the Unionist members who figure among backers of the measure are not those who might be regarded as the most prominent or influential supporters of the cause on the Opposition side of the House.—**Standard (Lobby Correspondent)**

THE IRISH VOTE

Again, it is unlikely that the few Nationalist suffragists will extend their support to the Bill which is to be introduced, although the Liberal group has done everything in its power to secure the co-operation of these members. —**Oldham Standard.**

ANOTHER PRESS OPINION

The group of Liberal M.P.'s in favour of Women's Suffrage have adopted a Bill which proposes to enact that women, whether married or unmarried, who, if they were men, would be entitled to be registered and to vote as inhabitant occupiers of dwelling-houses, and the wives of such inhabitant occupiers residing on the same premises as their husbands, shall have the Parliamentary vote. The franchise, however, is to be restricted to women over twenty-five. This last proposition seems to me to be utterly indefensible under the circumstances. Opponents of women's suffrage may have some logical grounds for their opposition, but surely those in favour of the suffrage must concede that if women are fit to have the vote at all it should be upon the same terms as men. It is an insult to women to say that a man is fit to exercise the vote at twenty-one, but women are not fit until twenty-five. I should be in favour of restricting the vote to both men and women over twenty-five, but not to having one age for men and another for women.—**Mrs. Bull.**

TEACHERS & WOMAN SUFFRAGE

What the *Daily Telegraph* calls the "Women's Tactical Win" was gained by the Suffragist party in the National Union of Teachers on the third day of their Conference at Weston-Super-Mare—Thursday in last week. This is the third time that an effort has been made to get the N.U.T. to pass a Suffrage resolution at their annual Conference. Each time it has come up in different form. At Aberystwyth it was only a proposal to suspend the standing orders in order to give preference to a suffrage resolution; at Hull the vote was on "the previous question": this year, its fate again was deferred through the moving of the "previous question" by the Suffragists themselves.

THE DISCUSSION

What actually happened was as follows: Miss Cleghorn moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive:—

"That this conference expresses its sympathy with those members of the National Union of Teachers who desire to possess and exercise the Parliamentary Franchise, but, because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it."

The resolution had been put down by the Executive itself, and 34 local associations had endorsed it, two or three with merely verbal alterations. To this Mr. A. E. Cook, representing the North-West London Association, moved an amendment, of which three other associations had also given notice, declaring that the question of women's suffrage was outside the scope of the objects of the Union, and instructing the Executive to omit from the Conference agenda all motions bearing upon the subject. On a show of hands the amendment was carried by a large majority, and it then became the substantive motion.

The Situation Saved

It was at this point that the Suffragists in the Conference showed their tactical ability. To avoid bringing the substantive motion to a division, which would have meant a definite defeat with the impossibility of bringing the question before the Conference again, Mr. G. D. Bell (East London) moved the "previous question," which was defeated by 42,150 votes to 20,499. The debate having been closured, it was then impossible to put the amendment as a substantive motion, and the question is therefore left open for discussion next year. As the *Daily News* put it, "Thus the suffragists walk off with the laurels." Even the mover of the hostile amendment does not call this an Anti-Suffrage victory, claiming, indeed, to be a Suffragist himself and to have been concerned only in preventing the Conference from frittering away the energy that ought to be devoted to the real business for which the Union had been established.

What is the Real Business of the N.U.T.?

But as Miss Cleghorn pointed out in the admirable speech with which she moved the resolution, they did discuss politics at the Conference; it would be a deadly, dull conference if they did not. They were there because they were interested in the question. Were they not discussing politics with Lord Haldane? ("No.") Then she wished they had been, for they would have got some definite promise. ("Hear, hear.") Last year the union spent between £6,000 and £7,000 on Parliamentary expenses. She did not grudge it, because it gave them their power, and the women willingly paid the 2s. towards Parliamentary expenses. If they wanted to stop all the friction within their association they should pass the resolution. They were tired of it; it was creating bad feeling, and it threatened disruption. ("Hear, hear.")

A Resolution of Sympathy Only

The resolution, Miss Cleghorn said, only asked the delegates for their sympathy, so that the women who were in earnest could go away from conference, not with the idea that they had converted the delegates to women's franchise — ("Oh!")—but simply with something to cheer them on the way—("Oh!")—to help them to work on patiently, forbearingly—("Oh!")—and constitutionally, for what they considered as justice for their sex. ("Hear, hear.") The National Union of Teachers stood for fair play. The union gave help and spent money to get votes for men members of the union who lived in school-houses. The National Union of Teachers believed in equality of the sexes.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE N.U.T. CONFERENCE

By a Delegate

Compared with previous Conferences the one outstanding impression is of the growing force and cohesion of its women members. A few years ago only one or two women ever ventured to address Conference. To-day there are scores able to make a perfectly reasoned, well-delivered speech. It is only by recalling the first organized attempt of the women to secure the ear of Conference that one can measure the enormous increase of their power. Five years ago at Morecambe a section of the women determined to secure a debate on the "mixed school" resolution, and by concerted action forced a "woman's question" for the first time into a prominent position. Gradually an increase in the number of women representatives has been evident, and this year they were in stronger force than ever, despite some very curious election tactics in various parts of the country. The division on the "equal pay" amendment shows, however, that large numbers of women teachers are either still unconverted, or else that they still fondly imagine the men they send as representatives will vote according to the women's wishes instead of their own. The one topic of Conference, almost to the exclusion of all others, was the "Suffrage" resolution. Even Lord Haldane's visit was discussed chiefly on the lines of "What are the women going to do?"

From a fine strategical position just opposite the Conference Hall the W.S.P.U. made its presence felt with posters on "Official Lying" and energetic open-air propaganda on the sands. Immediately outside Weston Station visitors were confronted with a huge placard, "One Man, One Vote. Ten million women and not a vote among them."

Dejected looking loafers tramped the kerbstone with sandwich boards declaring, with red-letter emphasis, "Women do NOT want the vote."

Within the Conference Hall the women were well to the fore. On the whole, the Suffrage discussion was better tempered than in previous Conferences. There was less acrimony, and even the prominent "Antis" agreed with women having the vote, but thought it no business of the Union. Seeing that the Union has fought for and obtained votes for men members in the past, women cannot of course acquiesce in this view. The "Suffrage" resolution will certainly be on the next agenda, and just as certainly it will not pass Conference until the women in the Union not only pass it through their Associations, but also send women to record their votes in Conference.

TWO PRESS COMMENTS

Supporters of votes for women have had a field day. They were opposed by an enemy vastly superior in strength, and entrenched behind fortifications built for them by their second-line army—their constituents. But the smaller force won by tactics. They would have lost heavily if they had put the question to the vote early, but they fought a rearguard action, and prevented the anti-Suffragists making a general advance into the division lobby until it was too late to make defeat into a rout. The Suffragists by their tactics live to fight another day.—**Daily Telegraph.**

Obviously there can only be a certain number of arguments for and against anything, but the members of the National Union of Teachers are far too intelligent to need these arguments repeated to them in 1913. The Suffragists, with admirable fervour, regard everything as grist for their mill. Otherwise it is impossible to see why the meetings of the National Union of Teachers should be disturbed by so alien a subject.—**Evening Standard.**

AN AMERICAN CHAMPION OF MILITANCY

In the April number of *The Masses*, a New York Monthly that claims to be "a revolutionary and not a reform magazine," there is an excellent article on "Gettes and Gists," which takes a refreshingly right view of militancy. "It looks to me," says the writer, "as though a hammer concealed in a bag is a good symbol of the type of argument that will really get through the shell of a true British gentleman when he has made up his mind, and produce an effect on his opinions. I do not want to justify the militant movement on any such ground. I do not want to justify it at all, for it needs no justification. Only I would like to point out to some of our horrified sisters and brothers that we were fairly well united on militant tactics ourselves the last time we were up against a British Cabinet."

The Blame on the Right Shoulders

The article concludes by putting the blame for militancy on the right shoulders, as follows:—

"Are you burning up with indignation that such things as window-smashing, and stone-throwing, and the destruction of the mail can happen at the hands of civilised women? Then direct the flames of your passion against those smug and respectable tyrants of political power who have driven women to these acts in a fight for what belongs to them, both now and eternally. If a sense of the sacredness of property has not corrupted in your heart every vestige of the love of justice, look at this struggle as it is. See it as posterity will see it—upon one side of the colossal resistance of ignorance, and egotism, and fraud, to the aspiration of the human spirit; upon the other side, that spirit in the act of supreme self-sacrifice—the renunciation of social respect, of dignity, of property, of health, and even of life, by the best women of the land in the highest cause they can set before them."

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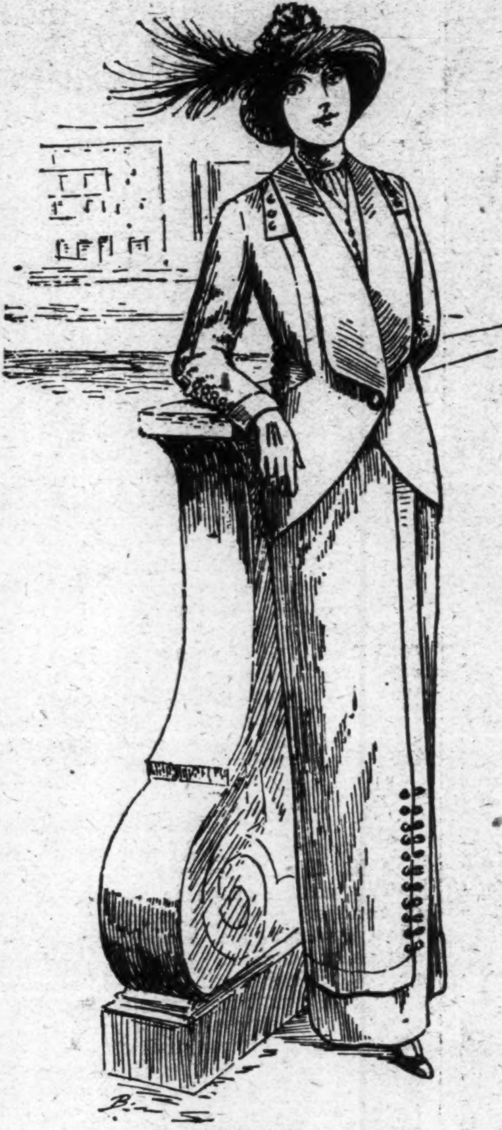

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NEW FICTION

THE MAKING OF THE COCKNEY M.P.

We have had studies of the cockney before. Mr. H. G. Wells has dissected him and made him lovable and grotesque and pathetic. Mr. Pett Ridge has photographed him and made him humorous and witty and pugnacious. In "Harry the Cockney"* Mr. Edwin Pugh does none of these things. His book is one of the most remorseless studies of a young cockney, from babyhood to middle age, that we remember reading; and yet we cannot help feeling that it may be on the whole a truer presentment of the real thing than the more delightful pictures of the London lower middle-class to which humorous writers have accustomed us. Mr. Pugh makes no attempt to amuse us; he does not amuse us. He never tries to make his hero attractive; his hero certainly does not attract us. It is the Balzackian method, employed for the first time in dissecting the London type; and we are not pleased or entertained by it in the least. But we are vastly interested; and, unpleasant as it all is, we feel that we are not being cheated of the real thing. Mr. Pugh holds a mirror up to a particularly soulless and sordid side of life, and he does not give us rose-coloured spectacles with which to look into it.

There is something particularly sordid and soulless about the stratum of society to which Harry Weaver, Mr. Pugh's cockney hero, belongs. There is plenty of food in it, and a roof, if a very ugly roof, always over his head, and plenty of sham jewellery and ready-made clothes and cheap holidays. There is no poverty; there are only small incomes, and small views of life, and endless pretentiousness and shams of every sort. The grandeur and picturesqueness of privation and hardship plays no part in the life of Harry Weaver, son of a small barber in Marylebone; he is just a commonplace and rather nasty little Board School boy who grows up into a rather nasty young man, and finally into a successful barrister and member of Parliament, though of these later stages we are given no details. The cleverness of the book lies in the uncompromising way that Harry Weaver, who tells his own story, describes his defects and his limitations until there can be scarcely a reader of his biography who does not feel that these are shared in some sense by himself, and that Harry Weaver is not really nastier or more limited than other people in more fortunate circumstances, but simply that he is made to appear so because his circumstances are not of the kind to conceal his defects.

Perhaps the best passages in the book are those describing his school days, and those revealing the relations of girls and boys, and later, of men and women, in the social circle to which the Harry Weavers of to-day belong. They are very illuminating passages; and as we read them we understand rather well why Suffragists are sometimes pelted with mud by a certain section of the London mob.

SENSATION AND SUFFRAGE

In "At What Sacrifice!" (Digby, Long and Co., 6s.) Mrs. Tibbits gives us a story of plot and incident. Effie Carew is driven from her home and deprived of her heritage by an unscrupulous sister-in-law, and goes through adventures and hardships perilous and terrible. By everybody except her lover she is supposed to be dead, but Sir Hugh Gilbert clings to the belief that she is still in the land of the living. Whether he is right or whether he is wrong it is for readers of the book to discover. There are saints in the story, and there are villains; there are also Suffragettes, who indeed are establishing themselves in fiction as they have already established themselves in politics. The account of the by-election is given with force and vivacity, and Mrs. Hetherington's unyielding spirit is worthy of the cause she represents. G.

TWO AMERICAN STORIES†

Susan Smith is a breezy New England woman of forty, and her uncle the elder dies and leaves her his heir. Thereby hangs one of the breeziest American stories we have read for some time, and we recommend it to anyone with a railway journey to take or a couple of hours to spend by the fireside. So healthy-minded is Susan that we even forgive her for asking her nephew, John James, whether he has any "views" on Woman Suffrage, for she has come from where views on any and every subject are so thick on the ground that there is no room for anything else, and when a woman has run in harness for her male relatives' comfort as long as Susan had, she can afford to take a "pleasuring" before she settles down to the serious things of life again. Indeed, when one thinks about it carefully, the materials for the making of Susan into a Suffragette are all there!

A story that some sentimental people may gush over, but which seems to us to belong to an unhealthy class of writing, is Mrs. T. P. O'Connor's "Little Thank You." The child who is afflicted alternately with this name and the equally trying one of "Lovely," may be thankful indeed if his schoolfellows do not unearth his past and deal with him according to the deserts of his parents. The story, which is reminiscent of "Little Lord Fauntleroy," is embellished with a photograph of the New England child, who unfortunately gives the impression of having been brought up on a patent food.

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* "Harry the Cockney." By Edwin Pugh. (London: T. Werner Laurie. 6s.)

† (1) "The Pleasuring of Susan Smith." By Helen M. Winslow Illustrated by Jessie Gillespie. (London: Sir Isaac Pitman 3s. 6d. net.)

(2) "Little Thank You." By Mrs. T. P. O'Connor. (London. Putnam. 2s. net.)

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THE LIFE OF AN AGITATOR

Nothing tends so much to convert us to new and strange doctrines as a record of the blundering efforts by which those with power and authority have endeavoured to put them down. We may not be in the least socialistically inclined, yet we cannot regard as anything but "poetic justice" the fact that in Germany to-day the Social-Democratic is the strongest of all political parties, seeing how its strength has been sedulously fostered by the persecutions and injustices of unrepresentative government. Incidentally, also, "the physical force doctrine" gets shrewdly knocked by the course of events as recorded in this history.* In 1878, when German Socialists were in an insignificant minority, Prince Bismarck carried against them a strong Coercion Bill. He had behind him the support of the majority of the nation; yet after remaining in force for twelve years the Bill proved utterly ineffectual, and cost the Chancellor his office; while under its fathering care the Socialist party had in the interval more than quadrupled its numbers!

In reading these pages from the life of a strenuous agitator as written by himself, we find, as is so often the case with people of extreme political views, that he is personally a man of moderate mind, not excitable or prone to rhetorical flourishes; and yet some of the things which he records as a regularised part of the German political system make a "constitutionally minded" Englishman almost hold his breath. At a Socialist Congress in Dresden, for instance, held in the year 1871, the delegates were forbidden by the police to make any allusion to the Paris Commune; while for commenting on a rescript by the King of Prussia on the results of the war, that it had brought unity but not liberty (whereas the King had expressed the hope that it would bring both) Bebel was put on trial for "lèse majesté" and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.

It is not to be wondered at that during a political era when these things were tolerated by men there should have been practically no thought concerning the political enfranchisement of women or any sign that in that country a woman's movement with any colour of self-dependence was even beginning to exist. Nor does Bebel himself show any apparent consciousness that the political liberty of men and women is really a common cause, one and indivisible. The share of women in the Socialist movement in Germany is dismissed in a few paragraphs. Yet in referring to things even as far back as 1867 Bebel writes of his political meetings: "They were well attended, and I was much interested in the fact that from the very outset women constituted a not inconsiderable portion of my audiences. These women became most zealous agitators." The author's reminiscences in the present volume stop at the year 1878. Much Socialist history has been written in Germany since that date, and we shall look forward to Herr Bebel's further account of himself with interest.

L. H.

"THE TYRANNY OF THE COUNTRYSIDE"

"A tumble-down cottage at a high rent on a wage of 13s. for a week's hard work, no place of social gathering but the public-house, and no chance of improving himself in any way, that's what life means in an English village," says a labourer quoted by Mr. F. E. Green in "The Tyranny of the Countryside" (Fisher Unwin, 5s. net).

Mr. Green gives a vivid picture of the conditions and life of the agricultural labourer in England, and his latest book amounts to an outspoken indictment of the present system of land-ownership.

The last vestiges of the Feudal System still linger as a blighting influence over our rural districts. The landowner, be he of titled gentry or "large farmer" class, has far more power than is good either for him or for his tenants, and he has one supreme weapon at his command, for he can turn out a tenant whenever he pleases, with or without reason. The expense of removing, the difficulty of finding a new roof in a district where cottages are vigorously "kept down" to gratify a landowner's caprice or love of sport, make many poor people hesitate to incur "Squire's" displeasure. The crying evil of the preservation of large tracts of land for hunting and shooting is so great that the patience of the sufferers under this selfish tyranny can only be explained by their pathetic dependence on the landlord's good will.

Against these evils, which crush the self-respect out of the labourer, the "charity" of a few landowners and "Lady Bountifuls," tempered with interference, is by no means a sufficient compensation. "It was seriously proposed at a nursing association that the parish nurse should not be allowed to visit girls who gave birth to illegitimate children," is quoted as an example of this.

The book should be widely read by all who have the interests of the English race at heart. Its incidents are all taken from life, and the excellent photographs illustrate the writer's points admirably.

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Mr. Osmund Airy's translation of Josephine Butler's "The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness" (being her first appeal, made in 1874-5, to Continental nations against the system of regulated vice), with an introduction by the Rt. Hon. James Stuart, has just been published by Messrs. J. W. Arrowsmith, Bristol (price 6d.).

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* "My Life." By August Bebel. (Fisher Unwin. London, 1912.)

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THE CAT AND MOUSE BILL

The Government have lost no time in getting to work on their Coercion Bill. Though all mention of it was excluded from the King's Speech, it was introduced and read a first time on Tuesday in last week; on Wednesday last the second reading was passed, and there are indications that it will be pushed through its remaining stages with all possible celerity. The object of the Bill is to enable the Home Secretary to authorise the temporary discharge, under such conditions and for such a period of time as may be stated in the order, of any suffrage prisoner who has been brought to the point of death owing to the hunger strike, so that in the case of her failure to return to prison or to comply with the conditions, she may be re-arrested without warrant and brought back to serve the remainder of her sentence. These powers are to supplement, not to supplant, those already existing with regard to prisoners sentenced to penal servitude, which at least allow the period spent out of prison to count as part of the sentence. In the Government's Coercion Bill, the time spent "on leave" does not so count.

As it may be taken for granted that suffrage prisoners in the majority of cases will refuse altogether to conform under such circumstances, the Bill, if carried into law, will mean the adoption of the following procedure. A woman is arrested, convicted, and sentenced; she adopts the hunger strike. After a few days, in the course of which she may or may not be forcibly fed, she is reduced to such a condition of health that the prison doctors certify that her life is in danger; she is then released and goes home, where, after careful nursing, she is restored to health. She is then re-arrested, again hunger strikes; her vitality rapidly sinks, she is again released, goes home, and is once more nursed back to life, when the whole ghastly tragedy is re-enacted afresh.

A more horrible and inhuman procedure it would be difficult to conceive. When first a similar treatment was proposed and adopted in the case of Mrs. Mary Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans (who, having been sentenced to penal servitude, were liable to re-arrest without the necessity of fresh legislation), we described it as the "cat and mouse" method, because it closely resembles the torture in which a cat alternately catches and releases a mouse. And it is by this description that the present Bill is generally becoming known. Should it find its way on to the Statute Book, it will brand with the stigma of disgrace the Government which initiated it and the Parliament which attempted by such means to deal with political rebellion.

We are aware that such considerations are not likely to weigh very heavily with Mr. McKenna, or with the other members of the Ministry, intent only upon finding an immediate means of escape from an exceedingly embarrassing situation. What might be expected to weigh with them is the fact that the proposal is foredoomed to certain failure.

The outstanding feature of the present form of militant action adopted by the revolutionary suffragists is the inability of the police to capture the perpetrators. This is not an accidental but an inherent feature of the situation, for it is obvious that when a section of the public not distinguishable at sight from law-abiding citizens makes up its mind to wage war upon the community, there are a multiplicity of ways in which it can do so without much fear of detection.

The new law could therefore only hope to succeed on one of two suppositions. The first is that the threat of severer punishment in the remote possibility of capture will act as a deterrent. This supposition may be immediately dismissed as inconsistent with the character of the suffragettes, which even Mr. McKenna has been forced to recognise. The second is that even though only a small percentage of the revolutionaries are caught, the total number willing to take part in such action is so small that at last they will be all imprisoned and peace and quiet restored. This argument breaks down, because even if it were true that the number of revolutionaries were so small as the Government suppose, and that they could one by one be caught and permanently detained by the new method (which we do not believe), then for every revolutionary so dealt with at least two new revolutionaries would be created. For there are large numbers of women who have so far hesitated from taking revolutionary action solely because they do not believe it to be right, but who would be fired to indignation by brutal treatment of their comrades.

But if the Cat and Mouse Bill be foredoomed to failure, what other remedy, it may be asked, is there for the present deplorable condition of affairs? And again, what is there to prevent other political parties, or a group of ordinary criminals, from adopting with success similar tactics? Our answer is that no remedy will succeed which consists of additional coercion. As to ordinary criminals, the arm of the law has been found quite heavy enough in the past, and it is likely to prove quite heavy enough in the future; and as to other political parties, no one enters upon a revolutionary course lightly, because the price to be paid by the revolutionary himself is far too heavy.

But these extraneous questions can be left to take care of themselves; what concerns this country to-day, and concerns the Government in particular, is the present suffrage imbroglio. And the first and essential step towards bringing that to an end is for the Government to do justice. That was recognised in the House of Commons last Wednesday when Mr. Keir Hardie moved the rejection of Mr. McKenna's Bill on the ground that a measure for Woman Suffrage should come first; and Mr. McCurdy was called to order for suggesting that the Bill would be unnecessary if fair treatment were to be given to the Suffrage question. Let the Government bring in and carry a Woman Suffrage Bill. If, when that is done, there be any signs of revolution left, we are quite sure that the ordinary law will be capable of dealing with it effectively.

HAMLET THE REFORMER

Mr. Forbes-Robertson in His Greatest Part

Why, look you now, how unworthy a thing you make of me! You would play upon me; you would seem to know my steps; you would pluck out the heart of my mystery; you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass; and there is much music, excellent voice, in this little organ; yet cannot you make it speak. 'Sblood, do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, yet you cannot play upon me.—Hamlet III. 2.

All through the first two acts, one wonders what it is that makes Mr. Forbes-Robertson's Hamlet not only vastly different from other Hamlets one has seen, but unquestionably the greatest of the many great parts that he himself has played. Charm, dignity, poignancy, humour—all these one is naturally prepared to find in Mr. Forbes-Robertson's rendering. They are qualities that no one can dissociate from him, whatever the part he may choose to be playing. But in his Hamlet there is something more, something that pursues and eludes and baffles, right up to that little passage in the second scene of the third act, where the blundering Guildenstern, set to spy upon the Prince, is taken aback by his sudden command to play to him on the pipe. "My Lord, I cannot!" he cries, dismayed. "I know no touch of it!"

Then, in the burst of fine scorn which follows, we have the cry of the misunderstood human being—the reformer and pioneer who in every age is subjected to the petty spying and the slander of his generation. "You would play upon me . . . you would pluck out the heart of my mystery. . . . Do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, yet you cannot play upon me." The complete understanding with which Mr. Forbes-Robertson renders this passage is enough in itself to convey to his hearers the clue to his Hamlet. For Hamlet, as he is rendered at Drury Lane, is neither mad nor weak, neither callous nor irresolute. He has the fine, intellectual, imaginative nature of the dreamer, and he is racked with the thought of another's wrong. Because he happens to have been born when the time is out of joint, his becomes the responsibility of having to set it right. If he were the plain, blunt, practical soldier, whose kind it is that spies upon him and calls him mad, he would no doubt find a plain, blunt, practical way to boast of his responsibility—and to evade it. Being a dreamer, he shoulders it while he curses at his fate. He is the rare person who believes instinctively as soon as one rises from the dead to convince him of the truth. He embraces a cause at the first bidding of the spirit; he is tormented by it until he dies for it. He is, in fact, the reformer as he really is, and not as he is painted by his contemporaries and sometimes by the historian. But the average actor who plays Hamlet sees him as the reactionary always sees the pioneer of his time; and Hamlet becomes in his hands mad, weak, irresolute, and callous. The reason that he is none of these things when played by Mr. Forbes-Robertson lies, I think, in the fact that for once he is being presented by a man who is himself a reformer, who knows what it means to have embraced a cause.

So it is that in the Drury Lane production lines that are usually slurred over by the average impersonator seem to be instinct with a new meaning. We are all familiar with the scene on the ramparts, after Hamlet and his friends have just parted from the ghost (Act. I., Scene 5):—

Horatio: O day and night, but this is wondrous strange!
Hamlet: And therefore as a stranger give it welcome.
There are more things in heaven and earth,
Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

But familiar as it is, Mr. Forbes-Robertson gives a prominence and a meaning, never given before, to the line: "And therefore as a stranger give it welcome." It is the last thing that the Horatios of any age give to the strange and the new.

Then, again, take the soliloquy in the third act that even the remembered drudgery of our school-days cannot rob of its beauty:—

Hamlet: To be or not to be: that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them.

It is a soliloquy generally quoted to prove the irresolution of Hamlet. To us it seems that Mr. Forbes-Robertson gives it a truer meaning when he makes it the soliloquy of the man who, hating action, has to goad himself on to take the action that he loathes for the sake of the cause to which he has consecrated himself.

One might have feared that the Drury Lane Hamlet would err on the side of being over-spiritualised. Yet no other Hamlet of our recollection has been so convincingly human. He hands over the players to Polonius for entertainment. That bran-stuffed pedagogue replies:—

My lord, I will use them according to their desert.
Hamlet: God's bodykins, man, much better:—use every man after his desert, and who shall 'scape whipping? Use them after your own honour and dignity: the less they deserve, the more merit is in your bounty.

And his "Look you, mock him not!" made into a delicious aside to the players as they go off with their host, is a humorous touch not easily forgotten.

The Ophelia of Miss Gertrude Elliott is full of interest, especially in the mad scene, which she plays with pathos and restraint. She makes it as clear as Hamlet does in this rendering of the play that he did care for her before the cause came, as causes do, to cut them asunder as with a flaming sword. She belongs to the past and he to the future. Her wretched upbringing has sapped her courage and warped her soul. She has nothing to say to her father's abominable doctrine of sex inequality ("And with a larger tether may he walk than may be given you") except the abject "I shall obey" of the slave. And Hamlet makes it admirably clear that his affection for her is turned to contempt only when he finds her concerned, as the slave would be, in the plot to prove him mad. All these and kindred points does Mr. Forbes-Robertson accentuate in his beautiful and subtle reading of Hamlet the Reformer. And I repeat that he could not have made what he has made of this most spiritual and most human creation had he not himself been one of those few chosen people who are born in every age to set right what is rotten in the State of Denmark.

E. S.

Photo: Lizzie Caswell Smith.

THE ANTI-MILITANTS

When the women of modern Britain
First asked to be given the vote,
People thought it at best a preposterous jest
That it wouldn't be well to promote.
This complacency vanished when women
Exhibited masculine traits,
So a conference met to express their regret
At adoption of militant ways.

Men came from the Radical party,
But they didn't remember the time
When their blood had been warm in the days of Reform
And they revelled in arson and crime.
They'd forgotten the riots of Bristol,
And Nottingham Castle ablaze,
So they strongly averred that they always demurred
To unwarranted militant ways.

The Imperialists flocked to the meeting;
For physical force they abhor,
Though when Kruger, we note, had refused them a vote
They began the South African War,
And expended some hundreds of millions
Upon battles and bloody affrays.
So the Tory contends that in gaining our ends
We should never use militant ways.

And the Unionists came in their thousands,
Suspending their peaceable talk
About purchasing rifles and similar trifles
And marching on Dublin and Cork.
They regretted the Suffragist movement,
And the lack of control it betrays;
For though Ulster will fight, no one else can be right
In resorting to militant ways.

And the National party of Erin
Were present, but somehow forgot
How the Fenians had risen and Clerkenwell Prison
Had witnessed a gunpowder plot.
So having disposed of their landlords
And given some moonlight displays,
The maimers of cattle prepared to give battle
To people with militant ways.

They all prayed of the women to follow
The noble example of man,
Who on every occasion tried peaceful persuasion—
The only permissible plan.
So without any sin on his conscience
Every man who was present essays
To cast the first stone at the women who own
To indulging in militant ways.

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

This week's issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN is so full of interesting matter that it should afford an excellent opportunity for obtaining permanent subscribers to the paper. Members of the Fellowship are asked particularly to make a point of distributing it widely among their friends, and if possible among strangers too, with a view to securing new readers for it. Much could be done in this way by selling the paper in the street, for which new sellers are greatly needed. Will not every Fellow make up her mind to devote a certain time every week to disposing of the paper, either privately or at the street corner? Only by individual effort on the part of our readers can we be sure of reaching fresh sections of the public who remain outside the movement through indifference, and misunderstand it through reading only the ordinary newspapers.

Remember May 7

Full particulars of the special reunion of Fellows, already announced in our columns, will be given shortly. Meanwhile, we ask all members of the Fellowship to keep the evening of May 7 free, in order that the gathering of our forces may be thoroughly representative.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To March 31, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	189	5	5
Mrs. Wright	0	10	0
Miss Gilliat Smith	0	5	0
Mrs. Crosby Smith	0	5	0
Mrs. Bullock Workman	2	0	0
Mrs. Allman	0	2	6
Miss A. M. Lavender	0	1	0
Miss Irene McLeod	0	1	0
Total	192	9	11

THE GOVERNMENT'S COERCION BILL

Second Reading Passed—In the House of Commons, April 2, 1913

A SUMMARY OF THE DEBATE

The really remarkable thing about Wednesday's debate on the Cat-and-Mouse Bill was that no one believed in it. Even in Mr. McKenna's speech introducing the measure one heard the note of helplessness and despair. He could only hope that it might have some effect by stopping martyrdom and preventing sympathy. "Publicity," he said in his most wooden manner, "is the keynote of this agitation." Stop the suffering and you stop the publicity. That was his only hope. For the rest, he did his best to make it appear that by this Bill forcible feeding would in future be avoided. It is retained as a possibility, but he hoped its use would become exceptional. To the credit of the House of Commons, I must say that not a single speaker advocated forcible feeding, and most of them vehemently denounced it. Many made the hope of its abolition their sole reason for supporting the Bill, which otherwise they condemned.

In moving the rejection, Mr. M'Curdy began an excellent speech, designed to lead up to the reasons for militancy and the hunger-strike. But as he went on he became so carried away by enthusiasm and the interest of the movement's history that the Speaker called him repeatedly to order, and finally cut the speech short by ordering him to sit down. Mr. Keir Hardie then moved his amendment in concise and trenchant phrases, protesting against the introduction of this or any other form of coercion until the Government had cleared their honour by redeeming the repeated pledge which now they were allowing to slide. He wished that men and armies were oftener inspired by the courage displayed by the women in our movement, and he foretold the entire futility of the measure.

All Round the Point

Criminal lawyers followed on both sides of the House, the danger of this innovation in all our penal system being most forcibly pointed out by Mr. Atherley-Jones, who also protested that the Bill was as futile as dangerous. Lord Robert Cecil, though urging that force is no remedy, repeated his queer alternative of deportation, but had small hope from the Bill. Mr. Charles Roberts denounced the members who supported militancy with acrimonious violence, and was half inclined to deportation, but thought the Bill might possibly have a limited success. Mr. A. F. Whyte, the young member for Perth, exposed the folly of the Bill in one of the most thoughtful speeches of the day, showing that true reformers had never been deterred either by penalties or by the actions of extremists of which they might not approve. Then Mr. Wedgwood, of course, denounced the proposal as another surrender of our freedom into the hands of officials, and Mr. D. M. Mason went at last to the very heart of the trouble, as every Suffragette could have gone at once. He showed that no matter what the Government did, they were faced with an impossible position, and the grant of the franchise was the only solution.

Sir Gilbert Parker was almost alone in really supporting the Bill, and then Mr. Ellis Griffiths was put up to make the best case he could for the Government. It was a pitiful sight. Lord Robert Cecil had reminded him of the days when he was a true Suffragist, and even defended militancy. And now he was defending a Cat-and-Mouse Bill. It was pitiful. But as an exhibition of helpless despair, owing to the betrayal of principle, so was the whole debate.

H. W. N.

THE HOME SECRETARY MOVES THE SECOND READING

On Wednesday afternoon, in the House of Commons, Mr. McKenna moved the second reading of the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Bill, and said he asked the House to confer upon him as Home Secretary powers to enable him to carry out the administrative responsibilities of his office under a set of circumstances which had arisen since the last Act relating to the treatment of prisoners was passed. The Home Secretary was responsible for the enforcement of prison regulations, and, amongst other things, he was responsible for the health and lives of the prisoners. If a prisoner refused to take food the officials were not thereby absolved of their responsibility to care for his health and life; it was their duty as long as a prisoner remained in prison to take such effective measures as were within their power to preserve the prisoner's health and life. That was a summary of the responsibilities of the Home Secretary and the officials who acted under him who had custody of the prisoners in the various prisons.

An Unprecedented Set of Circumstances

They had to-day to deal with an unprecedented set of circumstances. Hitherto the law had been adequate to deal with all prisoners in the course of their imprisonment. But latterly a new set of prisoners had come into being—prisoners who had taken up as a policy the practice of hunger-striking. He did not purpose to enter into a discussion on the subject of the propaganda in respect to Women Suffrage further than to say that publicity appeared to be an essential part of the work. Prisoners adopted the hunger-strike in the hope of enlisting the sympathy of the outside public—they committed crimes of violence and outrage and then attempted to enlist public sympathy by tales of their suffering while in prison. He mentioned this by the way, in order to warn hon. members against attaching too much credence to the accounts which had been given of the terrible tortures of forcible feeding.

A Most Objectionable Practice

He quite admitted that forcible feeding for those who suffered it and those who administered it was a most objectionable practice—(cheers)—and that other means ought to be sought to enable those who were responsible for the administration of the law to carry out their duty. He pointed out in the debate on the Home Office vote that there were three courses the Home Office could adopt in dealing with the hunger-strikers: (1) To release the prisoners; (2) to keep them in prison and forcibly feed them; and (3) to place them in the prison cell and leave the prisoners to die if the hunger-strike is continued. There were advocates of the third alternative; but he never found one who under pressure would not conclude with the statement, "Oh, the prisoners won't die. The prisoner will, in the long run, take food if she knows that death is the alternative." That means that the third course was not a true alternative. What these people proposed was that the Home Secretary should take the risk. At whose expense? His own? Not at all. He should take the risk at the expense of somebody else's life. He knew that because he had refused to adopt this alternative he had been charged with lacking in courage. He had never been able to see any evidence of courage in being willing to take a risk at the expense of another person's life. If he refused to take a risk at the expense of his own life he might have been charged with want of courage. He did not feel justified in taking a risk at the expense of some other person's life, and he was quite sure if he did take it, and if it was found that several of these prisoners died in prison from starvation, the very men who now charged him with want of courage would be the first to turn round and charge him with wanton brutality. (Ministerial cheers.)

Power to Torture

There remained, then, two other courses: (1) To release the prisoners, or (2) to forcibly feed them. He had no power to release prisoners except by remitting the whole of the sentence, so that the prisoner escaped all punishment for the offence committed. He thought the House would admit that it was most undesirable that people who had been convicted by due process of law and sent to prison for one month, two months, six months, or longer, should within a few days be in a position to put an end to their imprisonment by their own wilful act—by refusing food. Under the Bill, he asked the House to give him power to release prisoners without remitting the whole of the sentence. (Cheers.) He did not propose to give up the power of forcible feeding in cases where it would be contrary to the public interest that a prisoner should be discharged, but he assured the House he did not intend to use those powers in dealing with the particular cases he now had in mind.

Ticket-of-leave for Bad Conduct

In the case of prisoners sentenced to penal servitude, he had the power to release on licence, which was obtained as the result of good conduct, and which remained in force only so long as the person's conduct remained good. The powers he asked for now would be used not to reward good conduct, but to deal with bad conduct. He proposed that a prisoner licensed out on account of misconduct should remain liable to serve the rest of the sentence. The procedure would be very simple. He would not ask the prisoner to sign any bond or undertaking, but when a prisoner's state of health, through starvation or other misconduct, became such that further detention would be dangerous to the prisoner's life, she would receive a licence on certain conditions.

"If She Remained Good"

As long as those conditions were fulfilled the prisoner would not be rearrested, and she would not be liable to rearrest until the date on which the licence expired. On the expiration of the licence, the prisoner must apply for its renewal, or she would apply for a remission of her sentence. If her conduct remained good the Secretary of State might recommend the exercise of the Royal prerogative. If, on the other hand, the person broke the conditions of the licence, she could be rearrested without warrant, and be made to serve the rest of her sentence. If the House refused to give him the power he asked for, and if he found himself unable to preserve order and some respect for the administration of the law, the failure would be due to no fault of his. He said he had not the power at the present time, and he asked the House to give him the power. (Ministerial cheers.)

POINTS FROM THE SPEECHES

Mr. McCurdy Opposes

Mr. McCurdy opposed the Bill on the ground that it was an attack on the liberty of the subject, and gave the Home Secretary power to extend the terms of imprisonment imposed upon certain persons under his care without reference to judge or jury. The case against the Bill was all the stronger because the subject whose liberty was affected happened to belong to a class which was not represented in that House. (Cheers.)

The claim put forward by the women prisoners was that they were actuated by purely political motives, that they were neither insane nor hysterical, nor acting for the sake of publicity, but that, in fact, they were forced into the very regrettable and illegal methods of propaganda which they had now adopted by the fact that they had found all avenues of constitutional redress closed to them. Whenever the women saw the gleam of a possibility of their case being considered in a fair and reasonable way, the militancy ceased.

Mr. McCurdy was five or six times called to order by the Speaker for irrelevancy, and at length ordered to resume his seat for persistent refusal to keep his remarks relevant to the subject matter of the Bill.

MR. KEIR HARDIE

Mr. Keir Hardie said that to assume that these women were acting as they had been acting in order to get money or to obtain notoriety, was to take a most unworthy view of the work in which they were engaged. He would ask the Home Secretary whether women who had carried on such a determined conflict in prison were likely to be amenable to any rules or regulations which the Home Office might frame for their conduct outside prison whilst on licence The Bill was a futile attempt to deal with what was admitted to be a very serious difficulty, and he for one refused to give the Home Secretary a blank cheque in regard to a matter of this kind. The Bill applied to woman suffragists, but the scope of the measure might very easily be extended to other sections of the community.

Women's Loss of Faith

The reason for militancy was the loss of faith on the part of the women suffragists of receiving any fair play at the hands of the Government, and he hoped all members of that House, whether they favoured female suffrage or not, would vote against the Bill as a protest against the breach of faith committed by the Government. That would be a long step forward towards securing peace. He moved that the House decline to proceed with any measure for strengthening the law against hunger-strikers convicted of offences connected with the agitation for the enfranchisement of women until the Prime Minister redeemed his pledge that the Government would make itself responsible for the further progress of any woman's suffrage measure which passed its second reading by a free vote of the House of Commons.

MR. ATHERLEY JONES

Mr. Atherley Jones believed that this Bill would prove absolutely futile; but quite apart from the suffragist question he objected to a Bill of this kind as being wholly opposed to the genesis of criminal administration in this country. It was an entirely new departure. If there was one characteristic of our criminal jurisprudence more marked than another it was that punishment should be certain, and that there should be no interference by the executive with the result of judicial proceedings except in the direction of mercy.

LORD ROBERT CECIL

Lord Robert Cecil said the Bill contained somewhat startling propositions, and they were all the more startling coming from a Liberal Government. This beyond a shadow of a doubt was a Coercion Bill, and he should look with great interest to see what action would be taken by the Irish Nationalists. He agreed that the present law required strengthening; he agreed that they could not go on under conditions which allowed a prisoner to put an end to his or her sentence at will; and he agreed also that the offences of these women were very serious. It was really and truly anarchism. His own views as to the proper remedy were well known.

Mr. Pringle: Why don't you bring in a Bill?

Lord Robert Cecil said that if the Home Secretary would resign and the Government offered him the position—(loud laughter)—he would be happy to bring in a Bill embodying his views for the deportation of these women. He did not suppose he would be in order in stating his proposals upon this occasion.

The Speaker: The House had better wait until the noble lord brings in his Bill. (Laughter.)

"Just as Bad as McKenna"

Lord R. Cecil said he might mention that he had been the recipient of a number of letters from Suffragettes, and one of them ended up with an objurgation which he hardly liked to repeat. It was that he was just as bad as McKenna. (Loud laughter.) In regard to the present Bill, he hoped it would not be given a second reading, because, in his opinion, it would do more harm than good.

THE DIVISION

The House then divided on Mr. Keir Hardie's Amendment, which was defeated by 335 to 8.

The second reading was carried by 296 to 43; the Bill was then committed to a Committee of the whole House.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Monday, March 31

On the motion for the adjournment of the House last Monday, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary for information concerning Mrs. Bransom, Miss Emerson, and Mr. Franklin, three suffragists now being forcibly fed in prison, and also concerning Mr. Lansbury, now in Pentonville Gaol, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who was released a fortnight ago.

In reply Mr. McKenna said: With regard to the three prisoners, Miss Emerson and Mrs. Bransom are being forcibly fed. The latest report I have received with regard to their health is that they are not suffering. When I say that I do not mean to suggest for a moment that forcible feeding when a person resists is not a disagreeable and painful operation, but it is the resistance that causes the trouble, and I regret to say that from time to time both these prisoners have resisted and probably will resist again. With regard to the third prisoner, Franklin, he is also being forcibly fed and resisting violently, but the prison authorities have advised me that there is no present or immediate likelihood of danger to his health. I do not think any Home Secretary would be doing his duty who allowed any prisoner by his mere personal will and action to put an end to his sentence, and the announcemet that he did not intend to eat any more food in prison. I have a Bill which would enable me in large measure to get rid of this very process of forcible feeding to which the hon. gentleman takes such objection, a Bill which I should use largely as an alternative to forcible feeding, and the hon. gentleman is the first Member of the House to put down a motion in opposition to it.

Mr. Keir Hardie: That does not describe the Bill at all.

Mr. McKenna: I think it does. It is intended to be an alternative to forcible feeding except in certain cases, which I shall explain to the House. With regard to Miss Pankhurst, it is quite conceivable she never asked that notice should be given to her friends. If she had asked, I am fairly sure from my knowledge of the great humanity of the prison officials that they would have given her friends notice, but if she failed to ask that notice should be given, I do not know that they can be blamed if they omitted to remember it. As regards the state of health of young Mr. Lansbury, I inquired personally into the matter daily, and I have informed his father, whom we all remember in the House, that the reports I receive are of a satisfactory kind. With regard to the charge that he is in solitary confinement, he gets two hours' exercise a day, with two intervals of an hour each, just as any other prisoner gets exercise. It is absurd to speak of it as solitary confinement. I have answered the hon. Member's question, and I hope from the tenour of his observations that I shall have him supporting the Bill which I propose to introduce next Wednesday.

Mr. Wedgwood: I think this forcible feeding is pretty beastly work. It is bad for us here, it is bad for the Home Secretary, it is bad for the prisoners and for the officials. In a couple of days the right hon. gentleman is to bring in a Bill which is to put an end to this forcible feeding. Would it not be possible to call a truce now and let these people out? After all, they are passive resisters. (Hon. Members: "Active resisters.") They refuse to allow themselves to be fed, and I think that is passive resistance. I think it would be a very suitable occasion on which the Home Secretary might exercise that clemency he has been exercising in the past on so many occasions, and let these people out, particularly as one of them is an American citizen, and comes from a country where they do not understand why people are being forcibly fed, and do not understand why we in this country consider it still to be necessary to carry on that form of feeding in prison. I do hope, although we have from him to-night an answer which gives us very little hope of an improvement in these conditions, that with a view to a truce, and with a view to facilitating the passage of the Bill on Wednesday next, we shall have an end of this horrible state of affairs.

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A CONSERVATIVE PROTEST

The Rev. H. B. T. Strangways has sent the following letter to the Conservative agent for the Bridgwater division of Somerset:—

Sir,—In reply to your letter of yesterday, asking for a renewal of my subscription to the Bridgwater Conservative and Unionist Association, I have to say that I shall not continue to contribute to the support of a political party that appears to support the, in my opinion, utterly unlawful action of the Government in cruelly torturing by forcible feeding in gaol a large number of women. My view that forcible feeding of these women in gaol is unlawful is now, it appears from the report in the *Times*, to be admitted by Mr. McKenna, but it seems nevertheless to be approved by a large portion of the Conservative Party, whose reasons for such approval I have not as yet seen in print.

H. B. T. Strangways.

MILITANCY FOR NON-MILITANTS

Dr. Stanton Coit on "When to Break the Law"

Dr. Stanton Coit, speaking at the Ethical Church, Bayswater, last Sunday on "When to Break the Law," began his lecture by referring to the inscription on the banner of the Spiritual Militants, "The burning sense of a great wrong is the flaming spirit of God." He said that at the very beginning of the Old Testament we get the burning sense of a great wrong in the man who killed his brother. "I believe," he continued, "we can never judge whether there is a rightful time to break the statutes of a country unless we are answering a law from within. Each must choose for himself whether he is to obey the law from within or the law from without."

Dr. Coit went on to say that his father and mother lived in America, near the borderland of the slave country, and among his earliest recollections was their belonging to a society of people who helped the slaves to escape by means of an underground railway. "Now," he said, "if you come to think of it, my father and mother were thieves; they helped to steal the negroes who had been 'bought' by someone else, but their action was different from what mine would be if I stole your watch."

The speaker then proceeded to give instances of occasions on which it would be right or wrong to break the law. "I should say," he said, "if someone has backed a law to break down men and women, then, if you are not a coward, is the time to break the law." As definite cases, he gave that of Florence Nightingale when she broke open with an axe the locked doors of the commissariat in the Crimean War; and of Jennie Geddes when, in 1637, she threw a stool at the preacher in Edinburgh as a protest against the enforced reading of the English Prayer Book Service. A further example was that of John Bradlaugh, who swore a false oath. "Some think," continued the speaker, "that the law, simply because it is the law, is sacred, and must not be broken. I believe you can see that that principle would absolutely check all progress, whatsoever was the *status quo* would remain so for a thousand, thousand years. Anarchists tell us that any law as a law is always bad. I do not agree with that. . . . If you have been concentrating and working for years, and there comes a time when you must give up your principles or fight, then break the law; but if you are an egoist or a lunatic, then you had better keep quiet.

"Diabolically Intellectual"

"In my opinion I know of no one less hysterical than the W.S.P.U.; they are diabolically intellectual, and that is what everyone should be. At the same time, I hope everyone will see the difference I make, and also the difference Mr. Campbell makes. He said: 'I do not condemn the violent militants, but I make the difference, which should always have been made: I do not condemn the people, I condemn the policy.' I, too, think that these women are mistaken; it is as though Bradlaugh had gone on wrongfully swearing, or Florence Nightingale had gone on breaking doors with axes. I think the time to break the law comes as a surprise, and passes away again."

Dr. Coit concluded by saying: "I do not agree with those women who boast that they are always constitutional. The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

Dr. Coit also said he believed there were many more effectual ways of forcibly demonstrating the women's cause than by breaking windows. He urged women to go and disturb the Church services, to go into a thousand churches and interrupt their preachers.

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SEX EQUALITY IN THE CHURCH

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of Communicants of St. Mark's, Leicester, following the Easter Vestry, when the Vicar, the Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson, was in the chair:—

"This meeting of the Communicants of St. Mark's, Leicester, disapproves of the rule by which the vote for lay-representatives in the Councils of the Church is restricted, in the case of women communicants, to rate-paying householders, and is of the opinion that women communicants should possess the franchise upon exactly the same terms as men communicants."

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FOUR CASES OF TAX RESISTANCE

The Women's Tax Resistance League report sales of the property of four of their members since Easter. On March 27 Miss Baker, of Torquay, had her goods sold by public auction owing to her refusal to pay Inhabited House Duty. On March 28 Mrs. Sargant Florence and Miss Hayes, of Marlow, Bucks, also had their goods sold for the same reason; and Miss Ina Moncrieff, of Tregunter Road, South Kensington, had her goods sold at Harding's Auction Rooms on March 29. Either before or after each sale most successful meetings were held at which the reasons for the actions were explained.

THE PRESS ON THE COERCION BILL

NO HARM IN INSISTING

It will require a very stout spirit to face the rigours of such a system. Of course, feminine ingenuity may discover some new way of defeating the intentions of the authorities. If so, another remedy, possibly the weapon of deportation, must be found and applied. What is certain is that society will insist that a small minority shall not defy its laws with impunity.—**Morning Post.**

PANIC LEGISLATION

Mr. McKenna's Bill to deal with the hunger strikers who are under sentence of imprisonment belongs to the category of statute law—of which the classic example is the Ecclesiastical Titles Act—which is never enforced. In other words, it is introduced, as it will probably be passed, to deal not so much with the hunger strikers themselves as with those impatient members of the public whom they infuriate to madness. . . . If the new Bill reassures the public that "something" is being done and so gives the old law freedom from excited criticism in order that it may work out its own justification, nothing more need be asked of Mr. McKenna's measure. That it will yield any more than just such a quiet breathing time for the much-badgered ordinary law we do not believe.—**Yorkshire Observer.**

THE ONLY WISE COURSE

If the law as it stands is not strong enough to enable the powers that be to cope with the spirit of outrage with which a certain section of the advocates of votes for women seem to be imbued, ministers will not improve the situation by thus emphasizing their failure and "legalising" their folly. The only wise course for any Government is to boldly raise the question of principle in Parliament and deal with it on its merits, altogether apart from side issues.—**Bolton Weekly Chronicle.**

THE GENDER OF THE BILL

Incidentally it is impossible to fail to note the significance of the gender used. If "his" also means "her" in a Bill dealing with imprisonment, why should it not also mean "her" when dealing with the franchise?—**Bolton Evening Chronicle.**

THE 'SPECTATOR" APPROVES

One clause says that "nothing in this Act shall affect the duties of the medical officer of a prison," which we understand to mean that forcible feeding will still be resorted to in the ordinary course. This clause appears to us to be based on a too pedantic interpretation of the needs of prison discipline. We had always thought that if the principle of compelling hunger strikers to serve their term of imprisonment in sections were adopted, forcible feeding would be unnecessary. Otherwise the Bill seems to us excellent.—**Spectator.**

THE THREE R's

It is a sort of twentieth revision of the three R's—dealing, instead of primary education—with Release, Recovery, and Re-arrest.—**London Budget.**

THE WHOLE TRUTH

We protest most emphatically against the forcible feeding clause. If this method of feeding is adhered to, it means that a prisoner who refuses to take food may have to serve five or six short terms of imprisonment, and be forcibly fed during every one, thus converting a nominally short sentence to one of medieval barbarity. But the truth is his [Mr. McKenna's] proposals are grotesque; they can do nothing to bring to an end the Suffragette campaign of violence.—**Globe.**

LAW REDUCED TO FUTILITY

The text of the Home Office Bill for dealing with prisoners who adopt the hunger strike represents bluntly an expedient in circumstances of extraordinary difficulty. . . . As it stands, the text leaves nearly everything beyond the general principle to be settled by draft orders at the discretion of the Home Secretary—an extension of administrative authority which will need to be very carefully examined.—**Daily News.**

"REPUGNANT TO EVERYONE"

A menace to the safety of the community and to the rights of lawful citizens has arisen which it is impossible to tolerate. A Government which cannot find and employ means to meet it cannot hope to command popular respect. Nor will they do so if means are adopted which, besides being ineffectual, must be repugnant to everyone. It is for them to discover an alternative less objectionable than forcible feeding, but it must be an effective alternative.—**Standard.**

A DISGRACE TO THE GOVERNMENT

If there is one thing clear about this statement of Mr. McKenna's, it is that he is not introducing his Bill from right motives. Like most Liberals, I have no objection to the Bill itself, save that it is one of those pieces of legislation to repress disorder provoked by misgovernment, which it disgraces any Government to introduce. . . . But if the Bill is to be introduced at all, it should at least be introduced with the object of ending the system of forcible feeding.—**Standard.**

EVER DEEPER IN THE MIRE

A more complete violation of the basic principles of our criminal code could hardly be imagined. . . . In its efforts to avoid the doing of a just action to which it is pledged, the Cabinet sinks ever deeper in the mire. The House of Commons has fallen pretty low of late, but it is difficult to believe that it can fall so low as to support the Government in a proposal which, while it discredits its authors, does not even promise to effect in the slightest degree the suppression of the militant movement.—**Daily Herald.**

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SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 „
Mrs. Maud Brindley	„ „	5 „
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	„ „	3 „
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	„ „	3 „
†Mrs. Branson	Feb. 10	2 „
*†Miss Zelie Emerson	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour
†Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22	6 „ „ „
Miss Jane Short	„ „	6 „ „ „
†Anonymous	Mar. 4	2 months
†Miss Ella Stevenson	Mar. 5	9 „
Miss Olive Wharry	Mar. 7	18 „
Miss Dorothy Barnes	Mar. 11	1 month
Miss May Richardson	„ „	1 „
Miss Grace Stuart	„ „	1 „
Mrs. Dove-Wilcox	„ „	1 „
†Miss Marjorie Masters	Mar. 15	1 „
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 months
Miss Margaret Llewhellin	Mar. 28	1 month

In Pentonville Prison

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
*Mr. William Lansbury	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour

In Wormwood Scrubbs Prison

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
†Mr. Hugh Franklin	Mar. 8	9 months

* Hard labour afterwards remitted. † Being forcibly fed.

THE MILITANT AGITATION

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, March 27. — Suffragists said to have caused a fire in a new, empty, ten-roomed house at the Hampstead Garden suburb.

Great precautions taken to guard the stands on the football final ground at the Crystal Palace.

Friday, March 28. — Large number of letters damaged by a mixture of a sulphurous nature in one of the letter-boxes at Oxford Street Post Office.

Saturday, March 29.—Windows broken at the offices of the Northumberland County Council, Newcastle, hammer-head found labelled, "No votes, no peace."

Monday, March 31. — Interruptions by male Suffragists at the Marconi inquiry during cross-examination of Mr. Lloyd George; two ejections.

Wednesday, April 2. — Trial of Mrs. Pankhurst at the Old Bailey.

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THE SUFFRAGIST INTERRUPTION AT THE MARCONI ENQUIRY

(From an Interrupter)

On Monday last, of the sixty members of the general public kindly admitted to the Marconi enquiry, over 10 per cent. were militant Suffragists.

When the public had entered the Committee Room they heard much talk from the Chancellor of "principles," especially of the principles he had acted upon in selling Marconi shares. This was too much for a member of the M.P.U., who, from a commanding corner of the crowded room called "I protest against this talk about principles; that man in the chair has sold the women." The audience was taken by surprise, but in the expression on the Chancellor's face could be seen great discomposure. On the ejection of the interrupter the chairman insisted on the necessity for order, to which a second Suffragist retaliated that order was impossible until the vote was granted to women. A second ejection ensued. Investigations proceeded calmly for a little time, when to Mr. Lloyd George's assertion that he never gambled, though he had certainly sold the shares, there came the retort, "Yes, but you have sold the women of the country right enough."

When the Chancellor was admitting that in the matter of those shares he had followed the course of action indicated because, as he said, "I gave a promise to Sir Rufus," there came another ironical remark, "Of course you gave a promise to the women, but that does not pay like Marconis." On his ejection the Chancellor and Committee smiled at the whole affair, and a man protested that it was no laughing matter, upon which he was violently ejected. While being conducted off the premises an inspector came up and deliberately kicked him, showing once more how likely to spread is the brutality of those in high places.

◆

SUFFRAGIST EXCLUDED FROM AMERICA

"More Nerve than Tact"

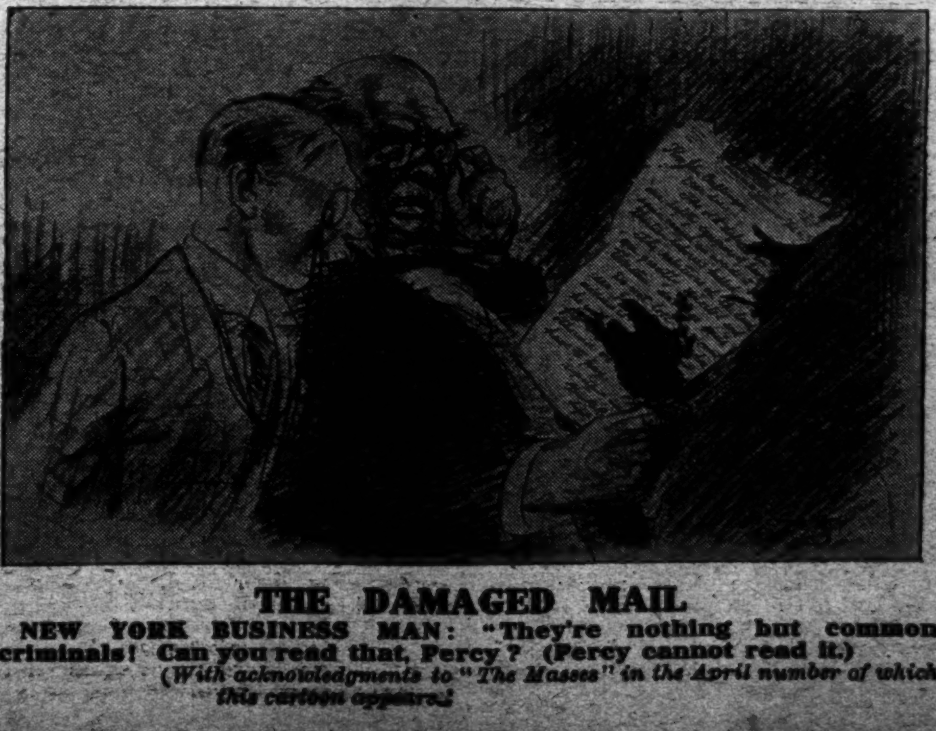
Miss Florence W. Ward, a Birmingham Suffragist, who has gone to visit relatives in America, was refused permission to land at Boston on the ground that she had been sentenced in London to four months' imprisonment for window-breaking. When told of the decision of the immigration authorities Miss Ward asked, as the *Daily News* puts it, "with more nerve than tact," "How about the Boston tea party?" It will be remembered that no opposition was offered to the landing in America of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, or Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. It is stated that Miss Ward will appeal against the decision.

◆

ANSWER—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT!

The following appears in a Montreal paper:—

Even Montrealers have begun to suffer from the tactics of the militant Suffragettes who have been damaging the mails in London. One of the victims is Col. E. C. Renouf, who recently gave a large order for books to a London publisher. The books were carefully packed for mailing, and were, in fact, mailed. Usually from that stage everything is clear sailing. But alas; it was not so in this case. After the parcel had been shot down the mailing tube in the London building, a band of Suffragettes stealthily approached and poured creosote or other damaging material through one of the openings in the tube. The result was that when Col. Renouf examined the parcel on its arrival in Montreal, he found the books hopelessly spoiled. The Montreal man who ordered the books through Col. Renouf refuses to accept them, saying that he is not responsible for their ruined condition. Col. Renouf says he is not responsible. The London publisher says he is not responsible, and that Col. Renouf must pay for them—responsible or not. The point is: Who is responsible?



THE DAMAGED MAIL

NEW YORK BUSINESS MAN: "They're nothing but common criminals! Can you read that, Percy? (Percy cannot read it.)

(With acknowledgments to "The Masses" in the April number of which this cartoon appeared.)

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IN THE COURTS

Thursday, March 27.—At the West London Police Court, before Mr. Fordham, Miss Olive Hocken surrendered to her bail; remanded on bail.

Friday, March 28.—At the West London Police Court, before Mr. Fordham, charged with conspiring to set fire to a pavilion at Roehampton, to damage an orchid house in Kew Gardens, to damage telegraph and telephone wires, and with damaging letters in a pillar-box at Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill, Miss Olive Hocken; committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court, bail allowed.

At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, charged with committing wilful damage by breaking a window at the residence of the Chief Government Whip, 12, Downing Street, Miss Margaret Llewhellin; fined 40s., 2s. 6d. damages, and £2 2s. costs, or one month's imprisonment; fine not paid.

Wednesday, April 2.—At the Central Criminal Courts, Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Lush, on a charge of inciting some unknown persons to destroy a house at Walton:

Mrs. Pankhurst—Speech for prosecution made—Evidence called—Proceedings adjourned till Thursday.

◆

THE "ARSENAL" CASE

Miss Hocken Committed for Trial

On Thursday in last week, at West London Police Court, before Mr. Fordham, Miss Olive Hocken again surrendered to her bail to answer to a charge of conspiring with other persons unknown to set fire to a pavilion in the grounds of the Roehampton Golf Club on February 26, and also of damaging a number of letters in a letter-box at Ladbroke Road, Notting Hill, on the 12th inst.

In the course of the evidence, given by the wife of the caretaker at the studio where the defendant lived, it came out that the day before the wrecking of the orchid-house at Kew the defendant and another lady in her flat had been throwing a piece of green cord about attached to which was a piece of iron. They threw it out of the window, the iron carrying it to the railing, and then it was drawn back. In the evening a motor-car, driven by a lady, stopped at the house. Some parcels and long rods were taken out of the studio and strapped to the side of the car. The defendant and another lady left in the car at about 10.30. About four o'clock the next morning the witness heard the front door bang and someone pass up the stairs to the studio. Later in the morning Miss Hocken said she was sorry that the door banged, but "the young lady did not know how to manage the door." The witness found a lot of mud and pieces of grass on the defendant's boots.

The same witness stated that Miss Hocken did not sleep at the studio on the night of the Roehampton affair.

Evidence was also given with regard to the cutting of telephone wires at Shirley, near Birmingham, on February 18, and also respecting the second charge of damaging letters.

Mr. Bodkin then asked that the defendant might be formally remanded until Friday, as he desired to consider a point. He would then ask his worship to commit the accused on four charges:

1. Conspiring to set fire to the pavilion at Roehampton.
2. Conspiring to commit damage at the orchid house, Kew Gardens, the property of His Majesty the King.
3. Conspiring to damage telegraph and telephone wires.
4. Damaging letters in a pillar letter-box in Ladbroke Grove.

On the following day, Saturday, Miss Hocken was accordingly committed for trial, bail being allowed in £500. Mr. Marshall, for the defendant, pleaded not guilty, and said he would call no evidence at that court.

◆

THE HUNGER STRIKERS

It is known for a fact that six women and one man now in prison are being forcibly fed. Miss Zelie Emerson, an American, who was sentenced on February 18 to two months' imprisonment, is very ill. It is reported that the anonymous prisoner is also extremely ill, and has to be watched after each time she is forcibly fed.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who is in the country, is better, but still very weak; her doctor says it will be many weeks before she can think of coming to London, far less think of working. Her eyes are still in an exceedingly weak and blood-shot condition, and she is in a very nervous state. The thought of the women who are still being forcibly fed is constantly preying on her mind.

◆

RELEASED PRISONERS

Last Monday morning four women were released at the expiry of their sentences, and were met at Holloway gates by their friends. Three of these—Miss Gertrude Vaughan, Miss Kathleen Paget, and Miss Dorothy Smith—were petitioners who had been sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment for trying to petition the King; the fourth was Miss Kathleen Nicholson, who had served a term of fourteen days merely for attempting to break a window in the Home Secretary's house. Miss Vaughan tells us that she wrote to the Home Secretary demanding writing materials with which to carry on her profession in prison, which, as a political offender, she had every right to do, also pointing out that by her imprisonment the statutory right of the subject to petition the King was being impaired. Her request was refused in about ten days' time, and her argument evasively dealt with. Mrs. Branson is due to be released on April 9, and Miss Dorothy Barnes, Miss May Richardson, Miss Grace Stuart, and Mrs. Dove-Wilcox on April 10.

◆

WHO PAYS FOR THE POLICE?

Those rabid anti-Suffragists who complain that "police protection" is extended to women who break the law for a political purpose, should study the figures given in last Tuesday's *Times* under the heading: "A Day Off for the Police." Women would be the last persons to grudge the police their weekly day of rest, but when they read that the extra cost involved amounts to something like £150,000 a year, they cannot help commenting that since half this amount comes out of women's pockets, women have at least as much right to be protected against the mob, when the mob are incited to attack them, as men would have. But, of course, women are only "persons" when they pay taxes, not when they ask for the return for their money.

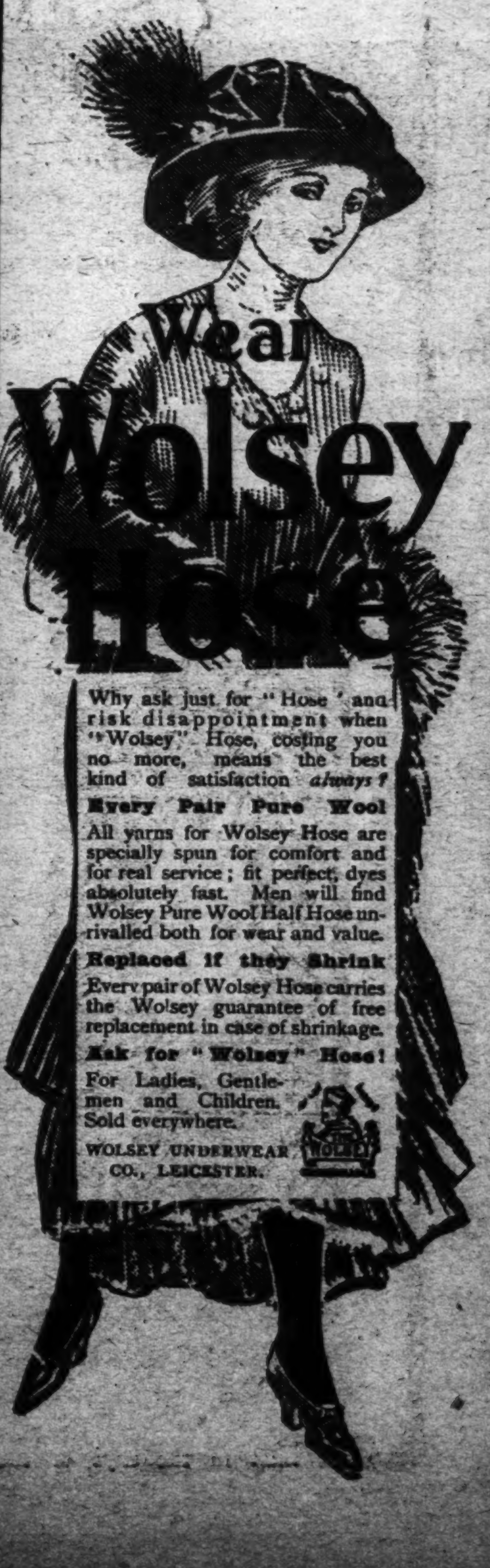
◆

SOUTH POLE HERO UNDERSTANDS MILITANCY

So much blind incomprehension of militancy is shown by many who should have eyes to see, that we give a double welcome to the outspoken championship of Captain Ammundsen, the celebrated South Pole hero, who has been speaking recently at Denver, Colorado, on the excellent results of the enfranchisement of women in his own country (Norway). This is how the *Standard* reports the circumstance:—

"Also, Captain Ammundsen remarked, there was a great deal more to be said for the suffragettes, even in their latest militant phase, than American women seemed to realise. So hopeless was the wall of misunderstanding and prejudice against which advanced women found themselves in England that he did not wonder that desperate means were resorted to; and he concluded his extraordinary speech by wishing the British suffragettes 'the best of luck.'"

If Britons had not so strangely lost their sense of justice, a speech of this sort would not be called "extraordinary" in a British newspaper.



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CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I notice in your paper of March 28 you say that Hampton Court was closed for the first time for the Easter week-end, but as a matter of fact Hampton Court Palace has been closed ever since the case in the Tower of London was broken—the grounds and gardens were open to the public as usual during Easter week-end.—Yours truly,

Sophia A. Duleep Singh.

Faraday House, Hampton Court.

[We are very glad to publish Princess Duleep Singh's letter in order to correct any misapprehension that may have arisen out of our note on the closing of Hampton Court, and are grateful to her for calling our attention to the matter. We had no intention of minimising the state of panic into which the authorities have been thrown by militant tactics.—Editors, Votes for Women.]

(We are obliged to hold over much interesting correspondence for want of space.)

THE FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION AND MR. LLOYD GEORGE

The vigorous Suffrage campaign conducted by Mrs. Mansell-Moullin and Mrs. M. E. Davies throughout North Wales has resulted in large and enthusiastic meetings. This is all the more interesting as in five of the towns visited no Suffrage meeting had been held before. The real attitude of the Chancellor of the Exchequer towards the Woman Suffrage movement has been put before the people of North Wales, with whom the Insurance Act is already very unpopular on account of its injustices towards women; and indignation was roused by the account of Mr. Lloyd George's refusal to receive a deputation from the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.

Letter to the Chancellor

The following letter has been sent to Mr. Lloyd George:—

"Dear Sir,—I have pleasure in enclosing for your perusal an account of our recent meetings in N. Wales, and of the *first fruits* of your trying to wriggle out of your promise to us. Working women in Wales feel very strongly with regard to your attitude towards Welsh suffragists, and are most anxious to make some protest.—Yours faithfully,

"E. R. Mansell-Moullin,
"Hon. Organiser F.C.S.U."

The third member of the deputation of three, who recently waited in vain on Mr. Lloyd George's doorstep for an interview with him (Miss Llewhellin), has gone to prison for a month for making a protest on March 27 (see page 385).

WHAT IS A SENSE OF HUMOUR?

It is an old gibe against women that they have no sense of humour. They would do well not to seek to mould one on the humour displayed by a certain section of the Press and the public where women are in question. The following quotation is taken from an account in the *Westminster Gazette*, on March 26, of the official inquiry into the conditions under which sub-postmasters carry on their business:—

> Mr. Alexander Watt, sub-postmaster of Pennan, Banffshire, stated that he carried on a boot and shoe business, in addition to acting as sub-postmaster. The total remuneration he received from the Post Office was £35 6s. a year, and out of that he had to keep an assistant.
>
> . . . .
>
> Mr. J. A. Davies: How is your assistant paid?—She is my wife. (Laughter.)

Another instance of the humour in which women are said to be lacking was displayed at the meeting held by Suffragists on Hampstead Heath last Sunday. We presume it was humour, because the *Standard* describes it as follows:—

> A company of omnibus drivers who were enjoying a holiday were responsible for a fire of amusing interruptions: "Why does the Government treat us women in such an underhanded and unjust manner?" asked the speaker. "Because you don't behave yourselves," said a driver, to the immense delight of the crowd.

Another of these "amusing interruptions" of the speech of the woman in search of justice, who was facing that crowd of several hundred strong, was the time-worn remark that "No woman knows her mind for two minutes together"—a remark, adds the *Standard*, "that was greeted with roars of laughter." On the whole, we advise women to keep the humour they have.

ANSWER—TILL THE VOTE IS WON

Speaking of the precautions taken against Suffragettes by the closing of museums and palaces, the *Edinburgh Evening News* says:—

"All sorts of people are suspect because of the wild women. Entering the Royal Scottish Museum, one now goes in with empty hands. Even soldiers, who are under oath of allegiance, are stopped at the turnstiles, and their little walking canes secured; while a lady's handbag or a muff is necessarily suspect. Things are, indeed, a great deal worse, and certainly more stupid, than in the days of the dynamitards."

COMING EVENTS

The Actresses' Franchise League announce an "At Home" at the Criterion Restaurant at 3 o'clock to-day (Friday). Speakers: Dr. Stanton Coit, Mrs. Kineton Parkes, and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

A Mass Meeting, organised by the League, calling on the Government to enfranchise women, will be held at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on Friday, May 2, at 3 p.m. Among other speakers will be Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Gertrude Elliott, Miss Eva Moore, and Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett. Numbered and reserved seats, from 3s. to 6d., are obtainable at the offices of the League.

The Paddington Votes for Women Shop, 52, Praed Street, W., will hold a meeting to-day (Friday), at 8.15 p.m. Speaker: Miss A. M. Hicks, M.A.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage announce a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, April 6, at 12 noon. Speakers: Mrs. Merivale Mayer and others. They will also hold an Office At Home on Tuesday, April 8, at 3 p.m., when the speakers will be Miss Anna Munro and Sir Edward Busk.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a meeting at the Essex Hall, Strand, on Monday, April 7, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Charles Gray, and Mrs. Mansell Moullin. Chair: Mrs. M. E. Davies. The League has just concluded a series of most successful meetings in North Wales during Easter week, and announce a further tour in Wales in April.

The newly-formed branch of the Men's Political Union at Oxford University will hold its inaugural meeting in that city on April 26, when the speakers will be Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Gerald Gould, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson. Old Oxford men desirous of attending the meeting are asked to communicate with the secretary, Harold Laski, New College, Oxford.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Leeds on Monday, April 14; at Croydon on Thursday, April 17, and at Glasgow on Monday, April 21.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

Realising that at Suffrage meetings it is not always possible to deal with the educational side of the movement, the Actresses' Franchise League have arranged a course of six lectures, to be given on Fridays at 5 p.m. at their offices, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Though intended primarily for members of the A.F.L., the ordinary public will be welcomed to these lectures, the fee for which will be the nominal one of 6d. per lecture, or 2s. 6d. for the course. The first will be given on Friday, April 11, on "The History of the Women's Movement," by Miss Evelyn Sharp; the second on Friday, April 25, on "How Votes affect Wages," by Mr. J. Cameron Grant.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

Confirms Militant Policy

At the eighth annual conference of the Women's Freedom League, which was held last Saturday at Caxton Hall, the anti-Government policy of the League and its demand for a Government measure for the political enfranchisement of women was confirmed. The League decided also to continue its policy of tax resistance, resistance to the Insurance Act, and defiance of the law, leaving the committee a free hand to adopt any measure likely to embarrass the Government.

Mrs. Despard was unanimously re-elected president of the Women's Freedom League, and Dr. Elizabeth Knight its hon. treasurer, and the committee confirmed the appointment of Miss Underwood as general secretary and of Miss Nina Boyle as head of the political and militant department of the League.

A NEW BRANCH OF THE M.P.U.

A new branch of the Men's Political Union has been formed at Oxford University with the following constitution:—President: H. D. Harben, M.A., Magdalen; Vice-Presidents: H. W. Nevinson, M.A., Christ Church, Gerald Gould, M.A., Fellow of Merton, G. P. Dennis, Exeter; Hon. Treasurer: W. H. Crook, B.A., Manchester; Hon. Secretary, Harold Laski, New College. We wish every success to this enterprising new venture of a society that has already done so much yeoman service for the Cause.

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR URBAN COUNCILS

At the triennial election for the Acton Urban District Council on April 7 there will be three women candidates—Miss Susan M. Smee, Mrs. Helen Sinton, and Miss Fanny Simpson. Miss Smee was defeated at the election three years ago, but was successful at a by-election nine months later. She has identified herself with work connected with public health and sanitation, and during the past year has been chairman of the Public Health and Isolation Hospital Committee. Miss Simpson is a well-known Suffragist.

Mrs. Margaret Schloesser is standing at the Chiswick Urban District Council election.

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Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage.
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
52, New Bond Street, W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

A FABIAN MILITANT

A candidate at the forthcoming election of the executive of the Fabian Society will be Mr. H. J. Gillespie, who is already known to our readers as a member of the executive of the Men's Political Union. Those Fabians who care to have the interests of the militant movement safeguarded in the counsels of their Society should not fail to vote for this staunch supporter of the forward section of the Suffrage army.

HELP OUR ADVERTISERS!

Those who know the delightful qualities of handwoven Donegal tweed should visit Messrs. George Chapman and Co. at 27a, Princes Street, Hanover Square, W., who are showing two admirable suits in that material—one suitable for either town or country wear, and the other a sports suit cut with three seams down the back. Either can be had for the reasonable sum of three guineas. [Advt.]

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent Street, London, W.—convinces one that purchasers of Gem Jewellery and Gold and Silver Plate may there obtain the utmost value for their money.—[Advt.]

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LECTURE BY MRS. DESPARD ON "Browning's 'Saul'" at Caxton Hall, Monday, April 7; the chair will be taken by Mrs. Tanner at 8 p.m. Tickets—2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.—from Women's Freedom League office, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds regular Public Meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, April 9: Mr. Th. Gugenheim (on "Woman and the Dismal Sciences") and Miss Boyle. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Nevinson at 3.30 promptly. Admission free.

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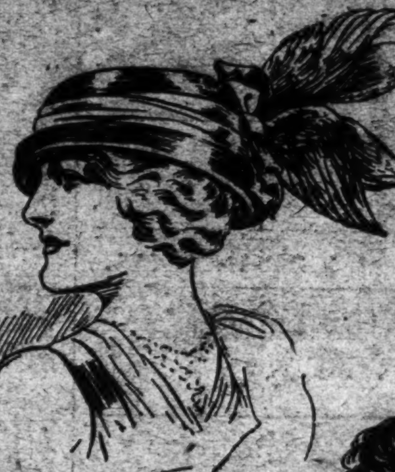

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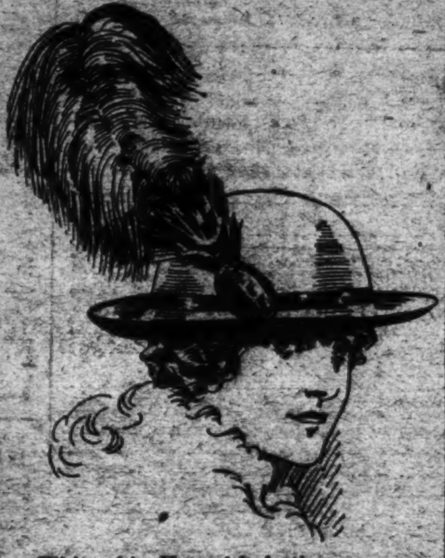

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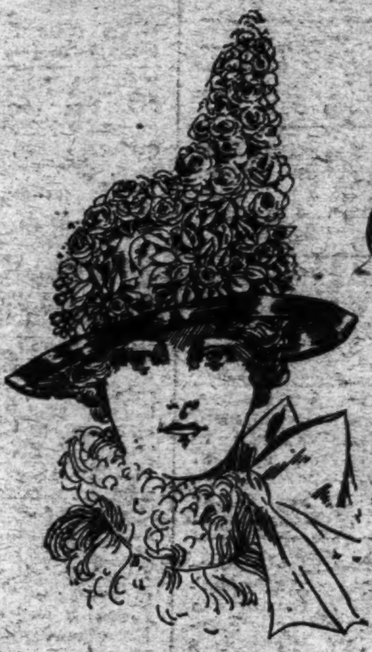

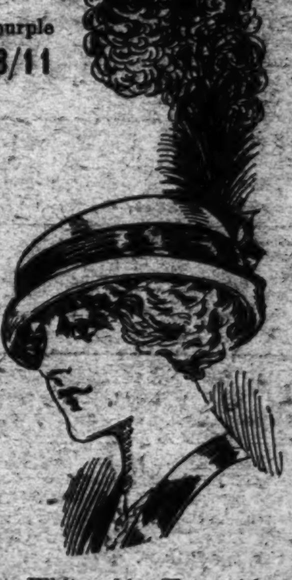

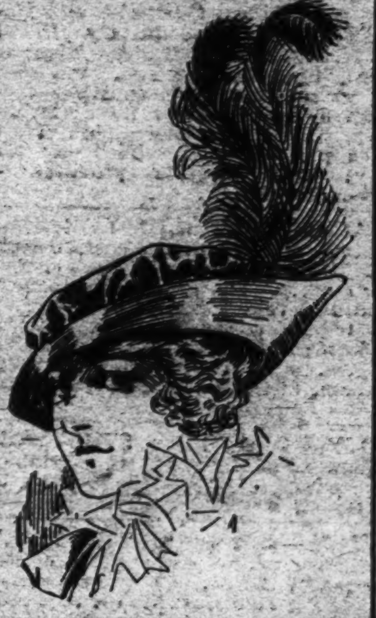

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